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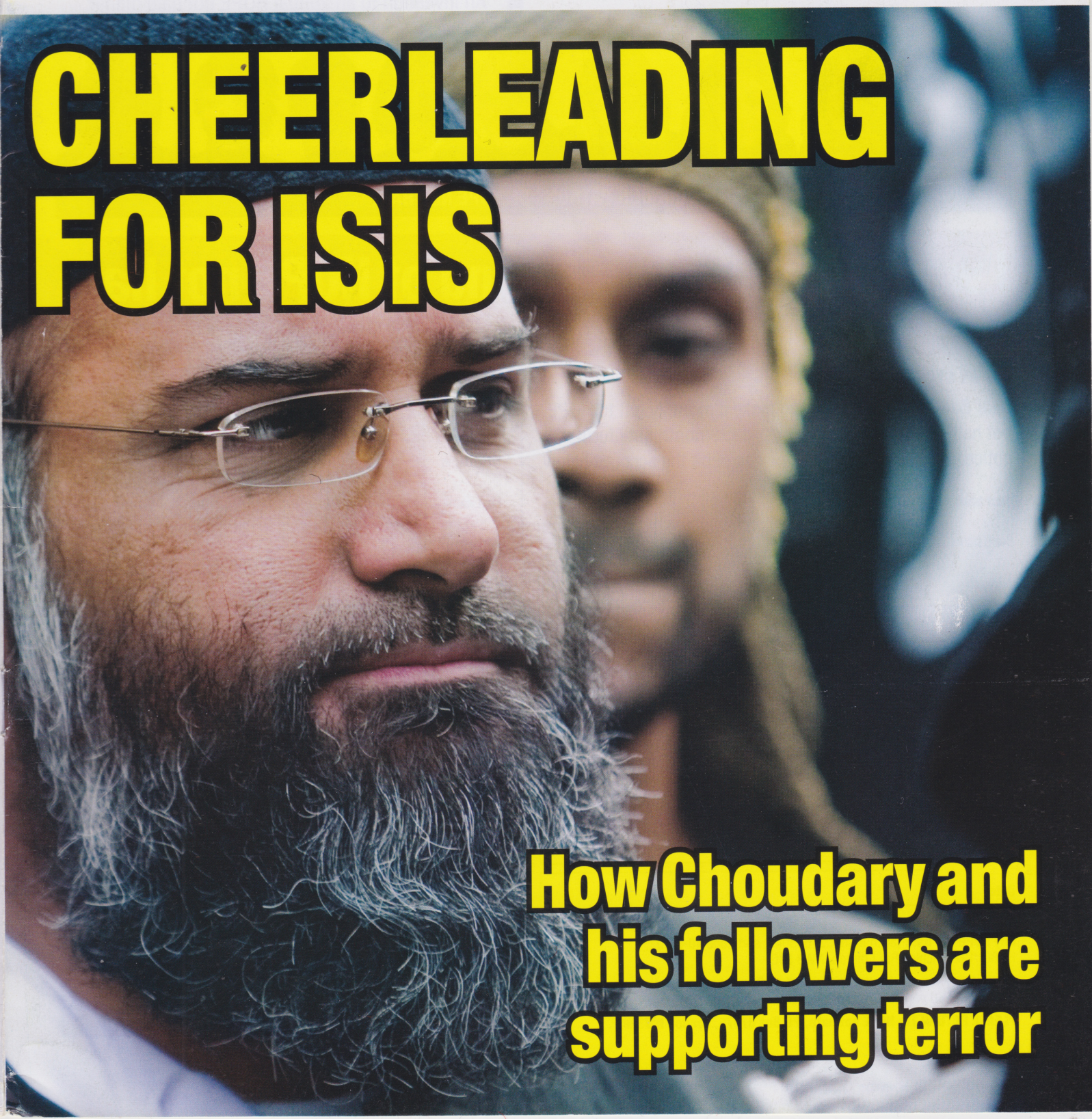
November-December 2014

Issue no. 16 Price £3.50



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CHEERLEADING FOR ISIS



**How Choudary and
his followers are
supporting terror**

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HOPE not hate

An anti-fascist and
anti-racist publication

November-December 2014

Issue no. 16

ISSN 2049-7806

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Cover photo from flickr:
sinister dexter

HOPE not hate is a bi-monthly
publication providing information on
hate groups and community initiatives
to combat them.

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Nick Lowles

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ISIS – a threat to us all

IN THIS ISSUE of HOPE not hate we focus extensively on ISIS and its British supporters. We do so because the militant jihadist group is the most serious threat to the type of society we want to create and stands against everything we campaign for. We believe in a society based on tolerance, equality, fairness and respect. Life in the “Islamic State”, by contrast, is the very opposite. Its widespread use of rape, forced conversion, slavery, intolerance, inhumanity and murder should rightly cause revulsion in everyone.

It is not enough just to oppose ISIS in Iraq and Syria and ignore the followers of this death cult and its warped ideology in the UK and, in particular, its cheerleader, Anjem Choudary. Too often dismissed as an irritating jester, this magazine focuses on his growing role as ISIS’ ambassador-at-large and the ever-increasing influence he is exercising over militant jihadists across the globe.

With over 80 people convicted of terrorism, terror-related offences and actual terrorist perpetrators, including both British suicide bombers in Iraq and Syria, we cannot and should not ignore this threat any longer.

HELPING HIM ON HIS WAY

Still on Choudary, I really think we should help him take up his stated wish to move to the “Islamic State”. Given his role in inspiring and indoctrinating extremists, removing him from these shores will surely be a good thing. It might also stop this Government introducing unbelievably authoritarian and draconian new legislation which, it is being touted, will ban people it declares are extremists from writing, transmitting or speaking in public, whether it be on the internet, via email or at rallies, unless approved by the police first.

This will not only destroy many of the

freedoms we claim to want to protect but, as we have seen all too often before, such powers can be abused by those in authority. By giving Choudary his wish, we will not only remove him from our streets but also reduce the pressure on the Government to introduce this new legislation.

RETURN TO THE BAD OLD DAYS

The disgusting and quite frightening campaign of hatred and threats directed at Labour MP Lucianca Berger reflects the return of fascist antisemitism.

In their desperate bid to appear respectable, for many years now, British National Party activists hid their true feelings towards Jews away from public sight in a deceitful attempt to appear respectable and more moderate. Now the BNP is collapsing, there is little constraint on them returning their focus to the people they hate most.

Worryingly, however, has been the failure of some anti-racist and anti-fascist groups to offer any sort of support to Luciana or to condemn her abusers and, sadly, this does reflect left antisemitism and a further failure of some political groups and activists to show any sympathy for Jewish people under attack.

LET’S TALK

HOPE not hate is starting what we hope will be a regular series of discussions and debates on the key issues we face. This edition focuses on whether we differentiate between violent and non-violent Islamist extremism but further debates will include how anti-fascists should deal with ISIS, the nature of the UKIP threat and the role of dialogue in challenging extremism.

Please do go to our website and engage in the debates. Our ability to challenge extremism will be all the stronger for it.

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JULIE SIDDIQI

In the *Guest Column*, Julie argues that women, and especially mothers, need to come together and use 'people power' to defeat Grooming.



DILWAR HUSSAIN

In *Preventing Extremism*, New Horizons Director Dilwar Hussain explores why young people are drawn towards militant Jihadist groups and offers some solutions.



TALHA AHMAD

In *Holding high our values of freedom, democracy and justice*, MCB's Talha Ahmad says engaging with Muslim communities is the way to defeat extremism rather than draconian laws.

HOPE not hate challenges the politics of hate and organised intolerance within society.

Initially established to counter the electoral rise of the BNP, HOPE not hate mobilises communities by providing a positive alternative to the politics of hate. Since it was founded in 2004, HOPE not hate has over 165,000 online supporters and over 95,000 followers on Facebook.

We are not aligned to any political party and will work with everyone wherever possible.

HOPE not hate comprises HOPE not hate Ltd and our charitable wing, HOPE not hate Educational Ltd.

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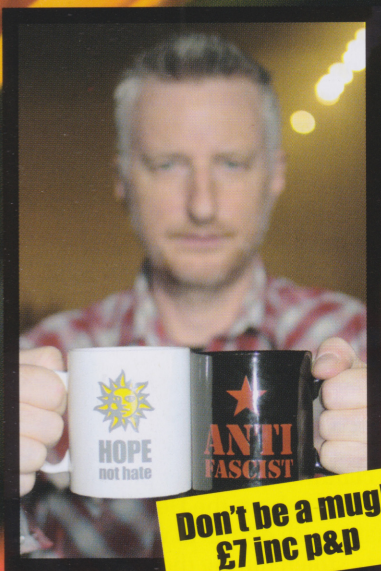


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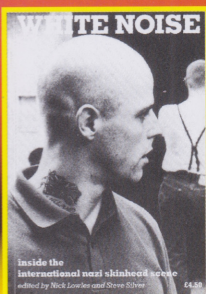


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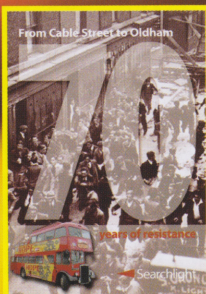
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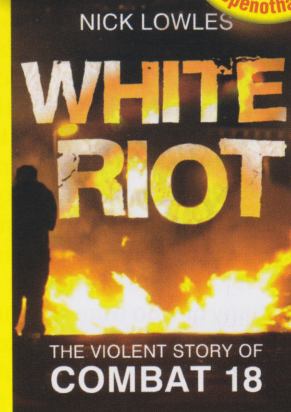
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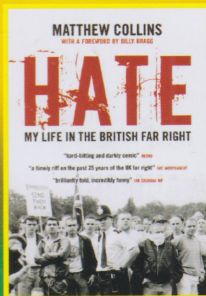


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WHITE RIOT

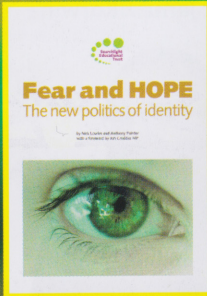
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UK Treasury freezes terror financier's assets



Abd al-Rahman bin Umayr al-Nuaymi

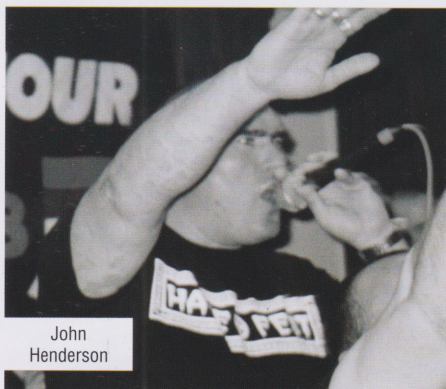
A QATARI FUNDER for terrorist organisations has had his assets frozen by the Treasury after his name was added to a list of terror suspects and groups targeted for financial sanctions in the UK.

Abd al-Rahman bin Umayr al-Nuaymi, an adviser to the Qatari government, is thought to have sent more than £1 million a month to al-Qaeda terrorists operating out of Iraq. The United States labelled al-

Nuaymi "specially designated global terrorist" in December, last year, claiming that he has funded a number of violent jihadist groups including al-Qaeda in Iraq, the forerunner to ISIS, as well as al-Shabaab in Somalia and other groups in the Middle East.

Al-Nuaymi, who heads a Qatari human rights organisation, denies the accusations, claiming the decisions by the US and UK are political.

Oi gig ends in violence



John Henderson

A SUPPOSEDLY non-political Oi gig, held in Luton in October, ended in violence when 30 people attacked and badly assaulted a Blood&Honour (B&H) activist. The victim, known in the scene as "Stan the Yank", was left with serious facial injuries after being viciously beaten and then glassed in the face.

The gig, held at the Harvest Home, Luton, was organised by C18 activists and attended by dozens of well-known Nazis and B&H supporters. Former Skrewdriver band member Micky French joined the band Last Resort on stage and together they performed numerous Skrewdriver songs to the delight of the crowd, many of who were sieg-heiling.

Stan the Yank appears to like to drink and this often gets him into trouble. He was recently badly beaten up at a B&H gig by its head of security, Ginger Rob. It appears that Stan has decided not to pursue this latest assault with the police and has even stitched his own face up.

If the authorities are interested in this case, then we suggest they interview C18 man John Henderson who, we understand, both led the attack and put the glass into Stan's face.

Worried about potential legal problems, attendees have been sworn to secrecy and told not to talk about the assault to anyone. Sadly for Henderson, HOPE not hate has an eyewitness account of the incident.

Man beaten and run down by car in race attack

A LIVERPOOL man has been attacked and run over by one of his assailants' vehicles in a suspected race hate attack.

Merseyside Police confirmed that an investigation had been launched after the serious racially aggravated assault in the city's Anfield area.

The victim, a 34-year-old male was taken to The Royal Liverpool Hospital, with a serious head injury.

The man was playing football with friends when he had an argument with a group of youths who shouted racial

abuse at him before leaving the park. Shortly after, a number of the youths returned and assaulted him before making off in two vehicles.

Detective Sergeant James May said: "This was a very serious and unprovoked attack"

"I am sure the community would agree that this type of behaviour has no place on Merseyside and I would like to reassure the public that we will do everything possible to find those responsible."

UKIP joins forces with far right Polish MEP

UKIP HAS received heavy criticism after linking up with an MEP who is a member of a Polish far right party following the collapse of the Eurosceptic EFDD group in the European Parliament.

Robert Iwaszkiewicz, who represents the Congress of the New Right (KNP), joined up with UKIP after Latvian MEP Iveta Grigule walked out on the EFDD, leaving Nigel Farage's group a member short of being able to form an official group and getting its hands on large amounts of cash from the European Union plus extra speaking time in parliament.

The KNP has never been far from controversy, its leader Janusz Korwin-

Mikke claiming that Hitler probably did not know about the Holocaust and that Jewish efforts to win back property stolen during the World War Two amounted to a "Holocaust industry".

Korwin-Mikke has also claimed that "Jews are very talented people, and therefore are our worst enemies, because they are talented communists" and believes that women should not be allowed to vote.

Iwaszkiewicz himself made headlines for all the wrong reasons when he told a Polish newspaper earlier this year that he was "convinced" that beating would "help bring many wives back down to earth".



Robert Iwaszkiewicz (left) with Janusz Korwin-Mikke

Top varsity loses funding over offensive leaflets

A LEADING accountancy firm has cancelled its funding for The London School of Economics (LSE) after the university's rugby team handed out homophobic and sexist leaflets at a fresher's fair.

The firm, KPMG, withdrew the money, thought to be around £22,000 that was normally used to fund the athletics union.

The leaflets described female athletes as "beast-like women who play sport just so they can come out with us on Wednesdays" and also stated "We do not tolerate Poly activities that involve faeces, genitalia and outright homosexual debauchery." In other sections, women were described as "sloppy birds", "slags" and "mingers".

In a statement KPMG said: "Diversity and inclusion is an issue which KPMG treats with paramount importance. KPMG sponsors a number of university sports teams as part of its support of university-level sport in the UK. KPMG in no way supports derogatory comments made towards any individual or group and after speaking to the club to raise our concerns over recent issues we agreed to end the current arrangement."

General Secretary of the LSE students' union Nona Buckley-Irvine, said: "It is disappointing to see that the actions of one club have cost the rest of our sports teams the funding that they need and deserve."

The rugby team has now been disbanded.

Lay under investigation



WESTLEY LAY, the high profile London nazi and bus driver, is under investigation by his employers after his political activities were exposed in the last edition of HOPE not hate.

HOPE not hate has now written to bus company Abellio asking if Lay had informed it that he had been to prison for harassing an elderly man who had already been assaulted by his brother. Lay was then working for another bus company but lost that job because of his conviction.

Meanwhile, Unite the union has denied Lay's boast that he is a member of the union.

Abu Rumaysah on the run



Abu Rumaysah

ONE OF ANJEM Choudary's closest confidants has fled the country for Syria despite being on police bail and having been in custody less than 24 hours before. Abu Rumaysah absconded on 27 September on a coach to Paris with his wife and children, before making his way to Syria to live in the "Islamic State".

Rumaysah, whose real name is Siddhartha Dhar, was one of nine people arrested in a recent police crackdown on the al-Muhajiroun network. He was released from police custody on Friday 26 September but, instead of surrendering his passport, ran away.

He has been a leading light in

Choudary's UK network since his conversion from Hinduism 13 years ago. He fronted up the Sharia4UK group and, more recently, Need4Khilafah, both of which were banned by the British government. Over the summer, he had been doing more and more TV and radio interviews for the group. He had made no secret of his desire to live in the "Islamic State" and, on 14 August, in an interview with Channel 4 News, said that only the security services stood in the way of him going to Syria.

He also used twitter to demand the right to go and live in the "Islamic State" and in several messages to HOPE not hate claimed he had no intention of fighting but merely living out there with his family. He re-stated his desire to travel to Syria on the evening of Friday 26 September, just after being released from police custody. In one exchange, he even stated that it would be to everyone's benefit if he left the country. Later that evening, his mind obviously made up, he stopped using twitter and began packing his bags.

Rumaysah's flight will be a huge embarrassment for the police and security services and raises all sorts of questions about their ability to monitor extremists, especially given that this man had been in their custody less than 24 hours before he disappeared.

Muslim group hands out gifts to sick children



A MUSLIM GROUP from Bradford, West Yorkshire, has taken part in recent Eid celebrations by distributing gifts to sick children at Bradford Royal Infirmary.

The Naqshbandia Active Development Association (NADA) delivered gifts to the children's ward of the hospital for the second consecutive year. NADA's general secretary Nazim Ali, said: "Our humble aim is to make

this initiative an annual event and all our members contributed. When we presented the gifts to the children, they were beaming with smiles, which was priceless.

"In turn, their infectious happiness rubbed off on us, and this has certainly been the best Eid gift."

- Home news is collated and updated on a daily basis at www.hopenothate.org.uk/news/ scan the QR code to see the latest >>
- Special investigation: BNP page 12

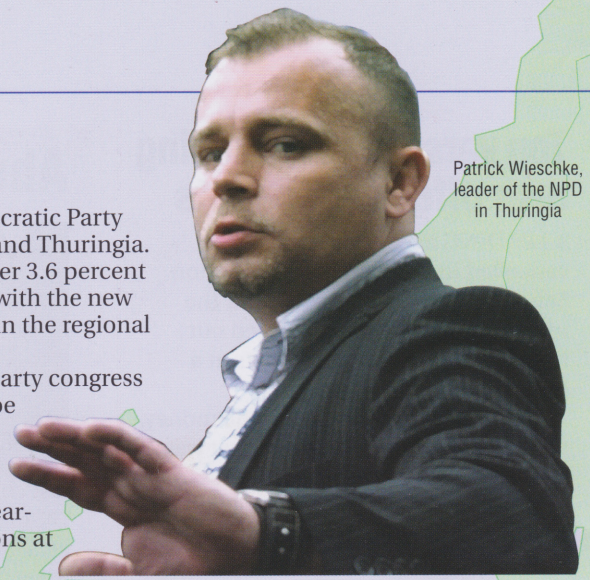


GERMANY | NPD crisis deepens

FROM MICHAEL KLEIN FOR ANTIFA-NET IN BERLIN

AFTER LOSING all its parliamentary seats in Saxony, the nazi National Democratic Party (NPD) has now failed to get elected to regional parliaments in Brandenburg and Thuringia. After the party got just 2.19 percent in Brandenburg (21,605 votes) and another 3.6 percent in Thuringia (34,049 votes), there is widespread despondency about dealing with the new right-wing populist Alternative for Germany (AfD) that polled relatively well in the regional elections. A sizeable chunk of former NPD voters turned to the AfD.

Thus, instead of celebrating its fiftieth year of existence in November, the party congress will have to address crisis issues. Not only does the party leadership have to be elected but there is also widespread disquiet about Patrick Wieschke, leader of the NPD in Thuringia. While being convicted for a bomb attack in 2000 has not stopped his party career, the revelation of police investigations into his alleged maltreatment of his mother and sister and sexual abuse of a 12-year-old girl has created uproar in the NPD. He has resigned from his party positions at the national level but wants to stay on as its head in Thuringia.



Patrick Wieschke, leader of the NPD in Thuringia

DENMARK | Sharper asylum policy adopted

FROM ANNE JESSEN FOR DEMOS IN COPENHAGEN

THE WAR IN SYRIA has driven hundreds of thousands to flee to Europe, a mere fraction of whom have come to Denmark. Since January 2014, 7,900 refugees – most of them Syrians – sought asylum in Denmark, rekindling the sulphurous public debate about “foreigners” that had lain dormant silent after the change of government in 2011. With parliamentary elections looming in 2015, immigration and asylum are among the big issues and the mainstream parties are vying to see who can introduce the toughest measures against asylum seekers. The Social Democrat-led government has already placed a bill on the table to limit asylum to a year and effectively removing existing rights. Everything indicates that only two left-wing parties will vote against this proposal in parliament.

The Danish People's Party and the ultra-liberal Liberal Alliance have shamelessly urged accommodating refugees in camps in Africa or Asia. Thus, they would cost less and the problem of integration would be eliminated. In Denmark there are almost no racists on the streets. They sit in Parliament and institutionalised state racism is flourishing.

BELGIUM | Nazi partygoer in new government

FROM WIM HAELSTERMAN FOR AFF/VERZET-RÉSISTANCES, BRUSSELS.

BELGIUM'S NEW interior minister and deputy premier Jan Jambon, 56, a long-time Flemish nationalist, has been linked with a Nazi veterans' organisation. As president of the Vlaamse Volksbeweging (VVB, Flemish Popular Movement), Jambon attended a meeting of the Sint-Maartensfonds (SMF), an association of former Eastern Front volunteers and Nazi collaborators, in 2001. The SMF was created after the war by members of the Flemish Waffen SS and still advocates unconditional amnesty for Nazi collaborators.

Following the elections that secured victory for the nationalist and right-wing parties, Belgium has a new federal government. The Francophone liberal Charles Michel of the Mouvement Reformateur (MR) will be prime minister in the liberal-nationalist-Christian Democrat coalition that will now lead the country. The MR, the only Francophone party in the government, has six cabinet ministers. The Flemish nationalist N-VA, led by Bart de Wever, which headed the poll in the Flemish region, has three ministers and two secretaries of state or junior ministers in the new administration.

Meanwhile, the far right Vlaams Belang (VB) has Tom Van Grieken, 27, as its new chairman. A Flemish MP, he will front the renewal operation the party desperately needs. Following its catastrophic performance in the elections, the VB is still nowhere to be seen. Most of its staff have been fired and the party is completely absent from media.

Jan Jambon, has been linked with a Nazi veterans' organisation
Photo: Geert Renckens / wikipedia.org



GREECE | Nazis facing trial

FROM PANAYOTE DIMITRAS FOR GREEK HELSINKI MONITOR IN ATHENS

ON 16 OCTOBER, the Athens Appeals Court Prosecutor submitted to the Indictment Chamber a much-delayed 700-page motion to refer all Golden Dawn's (GD) MPs and scores of party members to trial. The Indictment Chamber will make the final decision on the referral by the end of the year. This ensures that by the time of the trial in 2015, GD's leadership, currently in custody, will be let loose as pre-trial detention can last just 18 months. Public reaction to this inordinate delay has been

almost non-existent.

In the 2009 Euro-elections, the British National Party (BNP) got 6.3% of the vote and two MEPs. British society and the state reacted to this by imposing what amounted to a *cordon sanitaire*. In the 2014 Euro-elections, however, GD, the BNP's “sister” party, elected three MEPs but Greek society and the state (with few exceptions) have not reacted similarly.

On 19 September, the Office of the European Parliament in Athens hosted a presentation

Freedom
Party (PVV)
leader Geert
Wilders



NETHERLANDS | Wilders to face court again

BY JEROEN BOSCH FOR ALERT! IN AMSTERDAM

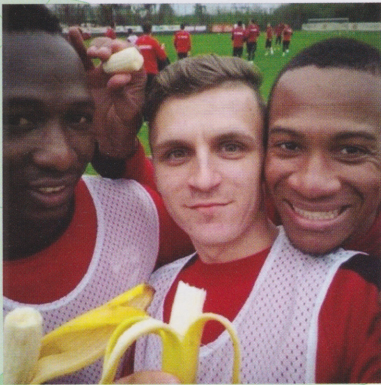
THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR in The Hague announced the prosecution of anti-Muslim Freedom Party (PVV) leader Geert Wilders, 51, in October. Just before the May European elections and on the night of the Dutch municipal election results on 19 March this year, Wilders stated he wanted "Less Moroccans" in The Hague.

This culminated in an outburst of racist chanting by his supporters in a bar in election night, when Wilders asked them if they wanted more or fewer Moroccans in the Netherlands. After the chanting, Wilders replied, "we are going

to arrange that."

In the two weeks that followed, more than 6,400 people filed complaints at police stations all over the Netherlands. After months of consideration, the Public Prosecutor has finally confirmed that Wilders will be prosecuted for racially insulting people and incitement to discrimination and hate. Detectives will question Wilders soon and the court case will probably open at the beginning of 2015. Wilders has replied with the claim that his opponents will try to behead him politically as the messenger who warns of the dangers of Islam.

NO Racism
Romania Dinamo
Bucharest
Image source FC
Dinamo Bucuresti
Facebook Page



ROMANIA | NO to racism in Romanian football stadium

DANA IONESCU REPORTS FROM BUCHAREST

On Wednesday, 8 October, the Romanian Football Federation ordered FC Rapid Bucharest to play its next two home games at a neutral ground and fined the club 22,500 Lei (£ 4,000).

The punishment results from Rapid fans throwing a banana and making racial slurs against FC Concordia Chiajna's Brazilian striker, Wellington Carlos Da Silva, during a tense goalless match the week before.

Instead of tackling racism in its stadium and amongst its own supporters, FC rapid Bucharest's management issued a press release claiming the spectators throwing the banana at Wellington Carlos da Silva were not "official

fans" and, consequently, the club could not be accused of racism or held responsible for random incidents.

The racist incident and the outrageous reaction of the football club led to players of other Romanian clubs taking a stand. FC Petrolul Ploiesti released a video with players of various nationalities saying "No to racism" in different languages while one of Romania's most prestigious football clubs, Dinamo Bucharest, took to social media (see picture attached) with the message: "We are all the same!" and "no to racism on our stadiums!" with a picture of white and black players eating a banana.

Bulgaria
without
Censorship's
Nikolay
Barekov



BULGARIA | ATAKA scrapes into Bulgarian Parliament

FROM DANA IONESCU IN BUCHAREST

EARLY OCTOBER saw Bulgarians going to the polls for the second time in the last 18 months to vote in a general election. Eight parties, including Volen Siderov's fascist ATAKA, cleared the 4% threshold to win seats in the Bulgarian parliament. The party crept over the hurdle with a score of just 4.5% – 2.8% less than won at the last general election, but 1.5% more than it scored in May's EU elections. The result marks the sharp decline of the far right party that had 23 of the 240 seats. Now it has eleven.

Worryingly, the ultranationalist alliance, the Patriotic Front, formed in August around the

Bulgarian National Movement (IMRO) and the National Front for the Salvation of Bulgaria (NFSB), came fifth with 7.2% of the votes, winning 19 seats. As the centre-right GERB party won 33% of the vote, some argue that the ultranationalist Patriotic Front or the populist "Bulgaria without Censorship" of Nikolay Barekov, a journalist-turned-politician, might be co-opted into a coalition.

The fifth Bulgarian government in two years will have a lot on its plate: slow economic growth, high unemployment and reforms needed in the judiciary, healthcare and education.



Golden Dawn
leader Nikos
Michaloliakos is
escorted by anti-
terror police in
Athens last year

of new MEPs, including the GD trio. The meeting was also attended – shamefully – by MEPs from Greece's two largest parties, the conservative New Democracy and leftist SYRIZA, happily quaffing wine with fascist MEPs from GD and the Independent Greeks. No *cordon sanitaire* was in sight.

- For the latest international news visit <http://hopenothate.org.uk/news/world/> or scan the QR code right >>
- International news features page 39



CANADA | Anti-Muslim Bullying

SOURCE: REUTERS

ANTI-MUSLIM harassment in Canada rose, Muslim organizations said, after attacks in which two soldiers were killed by people inspired by Islamic State terrorists. The National Council of Canadian Muslims says it had seen a tenfold increase in reports of harassment, including racial slurs on public buses, notes left on car windshields and bullying at schools. "There are some very positive signs that we've noticed in the form of calls of support and examples of people resisting bigotry," said Amy Awad, the group's human rights coordinator. "But there has been a large increase in complaints, too." She said a normal volume of reports of anti-Muslim incidents nationwide is about five a week. "That has gone up about tenfold, with a real surge in recent days," she said.

Worries about homegrown extremism leapt after a gunman shot a soldier and charged into the Parliament building in Ottawa on Oct. 22. Two days earlier, a man rammed two soldiers with his car near Montreal, killing one. Several Canadian Muslim groups quickly condemned the attacks and a handful of high-ranking politicians in Canada also urged residents not to lash out against Muslims.

HUNGARY | Fascists second in polls

BY ISTVÁN TÓTH IN BUDAPEST

AS FORECAST, the ruling right-wing FIDESZ party retained and consolidated its position across Hungary, from the capital city to remote villages, in municipal elections in October. FIDESZ won the mayoralty of Budapest and the country's twenty largest cities. The fascist party Jobbik took second place in fifteen of the nineteen counties, not only holding its previous gains but increasing its tally of mayors from three in 2010 to fourteen. Chairman Gabor Vona hailed the result as a breakthrough, declaring: "the left fell apart, so Jobbik will be the only serious challenger of FIDESZ in 2018 and run the country".

In the run up to recent elections, Jobbik has adopted a more "moderate" tone, with polls indicating that while its supporters are by far more anti-Roma than average, their racism has receded over the past year, probably as a result of the more moderate language adopted by its leaders. The softening of rhetoric is not just tactical but reflects changes in Jobbik's social base. Originally, it recruited its supporters among low wage earners or the chronically unemployed. Typical supporters today, however, are relatively educated, above-average, earners fearful of losing their status. Some of Jobbik's slogans also aim to win over left-wing voters.

SERBIA | Right wing confused

FROM DAŠKO MILINOVIC IN NOVI SAD

28 SEPTEMBER saw, after four years of failed attempts, only the second ever successful Belgrade Gay Pride Parade. The first took place in 2010 with a massive police and army presence and millions of pounds worth of damage caused by fascist hooligans rioting on the outskirts of the event. This year's relative success of Gay Pride indicates that Serbian society seems to be more open and tolerant on gay issues and, maybe more politically important, it seems that the far right is in a state of confusion and in decline.

Its failure to mobilise thousands of young hooligans as in previous years shows it is losing its momentum and, more importantly, its support from inside the state, notably its connections with services and police personnel. It also demonstrates how much the street gangs are firmly controlled by the state.

When the state is willing – or forced – to let its citizens exercise their basic human and constitutional rights, the hooligans stay home and no problems occur. That former ultranationalists now lead a pro-EU government creates even more confusion in the heads of right-wingers, reflecting right down to street level where, in the last 12 months, there has been a marked drop in fascist activity.



COLOMBIA | Nazis have been threatening journalist for two years

SOURCE: RSF

GUSTAVO RUGELES, editor of the Bogotá-based news website *Las 2 Orillas*, has been receiving threats from nazi groups for the past two years and is

still getting them. In the latest instance, Alberto Acosta, a member of the far right group Restauración Nacional, called Rugeles on 29 October to demand the withdrawal of a recent blog and threatened to come and "deal with you" personally when he refused.

Rugeles has been investigating links between nazi groups, paramilitaries and politicians for the past three years and has been threatened many times for his coverage of the issue. He has been getting state protection but a recent risk evaluation led to the withdrawal of his

bulletproof car.

"We condemn the attempts to intimidate Rugeles and we urge the authorities to ensure that he is fully protected against the threats to which he is regularly exposed," Reporters Without Borders (RSF) deputy programme director, Virginie Dangles, said. RSF has recorded several cases of threats against journalists by paramilitary groups, criminal gangs and others in Colombia since the start of 2014. Colombia is ranked 126th out of 180 countries in the 2014 RSF press freedom index.

Guest column...

People Power can defeat groomers



The model in this picture represents the young lives that Labour has let down.

UKIP attempted to exploit the grooming scandal in the recent South Yorks PCC by-election but did not offer voters any solutions to prevent this scandal from happening again

Vote
Jack Clarkson
for South Yorkshire
Police & Crime Commissioner
on 30th October



ukip.org

By Julie Siddiqi

AS I READ the reports coming from Rotherham about mainly young women being exploited by men and then subjected to the most horrific types of degrading abuse, I am left upset, angry, motivated and determined that things have to change.

What is it that has been missing so far? What different things need to happen to make sure we are not reading about more of these cases in years to come? Aren't these the questions we should all be asking ourselves? These are all our daughters and sisters and they have been let down by everyone, it seems. Their lives, and the impact this has had and continues to have on them, should be at the forefront of everything we do to make a change along with preventing it from happening to more people. They are the important ones in all of this.

To see these issues being hijacked by racists and bigots is also heartbreaking. They don't have the victims at heart when they speak but just want to use these issues to further their own cause of spreading hatred and dividing people. Don't fall for that!

I echo the words of the CPS Chief Prosecutor, Nazir Afzal, when he says that the race and ethnicity of the perpetrators is AN issue but it is not THE issue.

No doubt, as I have always said, where there is a pattern of

“Parents, community activists, local people linked to some national initiatives are the way forward: people from all backgrounds. We all need to be the eyes and the ears together on these issues”

behaviour emerging, where it seems that whole groups of people are turning a blind eye to certain activities, where cultural practices get in the way of justice and doing the right thing, then there is no

room for complacency and no-one should be saying any different.

And to use political correctness to cover up systemic failures is also wrong and we should all take offence at that too.

Is “People Power” the answer? I think it is! I'm not talking about violent vigilante groups or anything like that, but I am talking about people in local areas, working together – working hard but also working smart.

I can clearly see that in many areas where these cases have come to light, links to different communities and to the right people in those communities have been seriously lacking. It's not enough for local authorities and police forces to be ticking boxes and saying they have done their community engagement.

No.

Parents, community activists and local people linked to some national initiatives are the way forward: people from all backgrounds. We all need to be

the eyes and the ears together on these issues, linking up to share resources, to share ideas, to see what works and what needs to happen.

Those of us that care about these issues need to really come together.

We need to share information and develop our expertise. We need to develop and encourage good practice in different parts of the country to avoid mistakes constantly being repeated. We need to hold relevant people to account in an organised, intelligent way, to be determined and not take “no” for an answer too quickly.

I have cried a lot over these issues. They are painful stories to read and I feel so upset that in this amazing country of ours we can fail our young people so badly.

So, let's learn from Rotherham to ensure this cannot happen again. Let's think about the girls, our daughters and sisters and what we can do for them.

Contact me, get involved. ●

■ JULIE SIDDIQI is co-chair of the Community Alliance Against Sexual Exploitation. www.caase.org.uk, info@caase.org.uk

Into the wilderness

Matthew Collins reports on Nick Griffin's fall from grace

THE WHO'S WHO OF THE BNP FACTIONAL FIGHT

Ever *faux* and pseudo gracious, Nick Griffin is standing at a bar in St Helens, with a fixed, fake grin on his face. Inside, his stomach must be churning. He looks as if he has woken up at his own wake. Old friends, distant comrades and even just mere acquaintances are shuffling towards him to pay their final respects.

Yes, yes, they have loved him but some didn't realise until it was too late. And now it *was* too late. 24 hours earlier, he'd been expelled from the British National Party (BNP), the once tiny nazi irritant that he had nurtured into a national cause for concern beginning some fifteen years before.

To those present on that mild October evening, he immediately disabused the notion that he had willingly stood down as Chairman of the party back in July. Everyone present was aware already of that, but Griffin was looking confused and tired. He'd not stopped travelling and running around since that day when he was replaced as Chairman. Adulation from beer-swilling fans could do little to lighten his shell-shocked mood. By all accounts, straight after the party's Executive Committee had moved against him he had driven home, in a panic, to Wales and then from home to Brussels to beg for monies owed to him by the European Parliament. The wolf, warned his wife, was not far from the door.

A bankrupt since January for the second time in his life, Griffin has never been too proud to beg. Sadly, for him, he had already bled his aged parents near dry during a previous political meltdown nearly thirty years before. This time he had been more careful. The Griffins had been affluent and generous – very generous – to themselves but Griffin had put a bit here and there to those in the party he trusted to ensure his own personal and financial survival. They – Clive Jefferson, the party's Treasurer, Adam Walker the party's "manager" and Patrick Harrington, Griffin's long time comrade and special "adviser" to the party – had attended assiduously to their own needs and greed and duly stabbed him in the back.

Even before Griffin was voted out of

TEAM NICK GRIFFIN

MICK BRAUN: Loud mouthed lorry-driving thug from Romford, Essex, who has doubled as BNP Havering organiser in the past. Now expelled from the party, Braun is responsible for much of the online vulgarity supporting Griffin that is directed at the new leadership. Humiliated last month when accounts pointed to party donations not making their way to head office.



MIKE WHITBY: Popular with party members and formerly a perennial candidate in either Wales or England, Whitby was another Griffin supporter humiliated by the Walker faction after siding with Griffin. The new leadership has revealed that Whitby borrowed money from the party that he has not paid back. Whitby quit the BNP after being stood down as Liverpool organiser and then being shamed by the "loan" being made public.



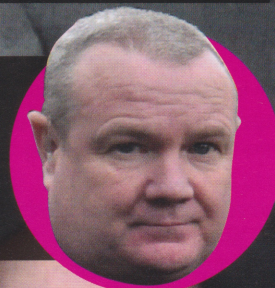
THE YOUNG BNP (YBNP)/NATIONAL ACTION: KEVIN LAYZELLS (right), **MARK JAMES** and **JACK RENSHAW** (left) were all heavy critics of Griffin in the lead up to the split. All three, steeped in the antisemitism they learned in the BNP, are now firmly behind Griffin's plans to launch a new, militant, street organisation. James, who is also senior in National Action, was entrusted by Griffin to leak internal BNP documents as the split went public.



PAUL PRODROMOU (aka Paul Pitt): Leader of the shrinking EDL splinter group South East Alliance (SEA) has found himself short of an "army" of late, and has fallen in with the YBNP and National Action to desperately help thicken his numbers on his demonstrations. Will be hoping for a place in Griffin's new organisation, but Griffin does not share a mutual respect of him, apparently.



PAUL TELFORD: One of Griffin's former bodyguards, Telford has been keen to engineer a confrontation with the Walker faction and hosted a private meeting in support of Griffin before the St Helens meeting. By foolishly pressuring people into tearing up their membership cards, he ruined any chance Griffin had of winning an internal election.



ALWYN DEACON: Among the first to come out for Griffin, Deacon found himself confronted in his office by the new leadership team and was forced to pose for photographs for the BNP website showing himself as compliant with the new regime. Formerly in charge of elections and distribution, he was demoted to run the party's merchandising wing.



THE "WIGTON SOVIET"



PATRICK HARRINGTON: Formerly part of Griffin's "Political Soldier" wing when they ran the National Front into the ground during the 1980's, his alignment is probably the biggest shock of the split. That he turned against Griffin so abruptly after years of being a financial beneficiary of the party, despite not being a member, is clear indication that money is being made available to him for his services. Will no doubt orchestrate the removal of Clive Jefferson quite soon, too.

The BNP sacked Nick Griffin (left) on 1 October, claiming he had "deliberately" fabricated a "state of crisis" and put all his efforts into trying to cause "disunity" within the party.

DAWN CHARLTON: The BNP's admin worker at its Wigton office. Previously the brunt of rumour-mongering within the BNP – and not about her administrative talents. Potentially the only competent person in the whole "Wigton Soviet" faction.



GARY TUMULTY: Salford Organiser, Tumulty has harboured a grudge against Griffin for years for not paying him for the "hard work" he claims he put into getting Griffin elected MEP for the North West in 2009. In the run up to Griffin losing his seat earlier this year, Tumulty spoke out aggressively against Griffin's family, denouncing them as "leeches" and did very little work to get Griffin re-elected. Has already been targeted by other fascists in Manchester for reprisals.

STEVE SQUIRE: London Organiser and a notorious pornographer, Squire has held a grudge against Griffin over allegations that Griffin exposed himself to Squire's then girlfriend, Claudia Dalglish. Like Tumulty, Squire has found himself rather alienated from Wigton and surrounded by pro-Griffinites and he, too, has been targeted by fascists bearing a grudge over his role.



CLIVE JEFFERSON: BNP "Treasurer" Jefferson bears the brunt of the venom (along with Harrington) of the Griffin faction. Under his previous name, Clive Aitken, Jefferson was arrested in a number of police raids against drug dealers in Cumbria but never convicted. An almost comic book character, Jefferson is accused by Griffin of a number of financial irregularities in his role.

New BNP
chairman
Adam Walker



SIMON DARBY: Former deputy leader, and still press officer, of the party, Darby has chosen to stay with the Wigton faction – allegedly to ensure he receives monies owed for legal actions he paid for. Probably the most politically weighty figure in the faction.





(above) How the Griffin supporters portrayed his sacking
(right) Nick Griffin and Adam Walker at a BNP demonstration in Hyde, Greater Manchester, in 2012.



his European seat in May, everything around him had begun to stagnate: home life, the office in Brussels, Griffin himself (aside from some disastrous forays into activity at the very end of May's European election campaign,) and, most aggravatingly of all, the party headquarters in Cumbria which seemed to have gone into hibernation. Griffin was not able to put his finger on the apparent lethargy surrounding him and even the press had lost interest in him.

Back in Brussels on his desperate begging mission, Griffin sat and dined with friends from the European far right. Over dinner, as he fiddled with his watch and his shirt and coat cuffs, it dawned on him that he faced a future of political drudgery without even the power to command another foreign trip at the BNP's expense.

Griffin's emergency trip very quickly turned into another glorious sojourn with some of the most extreme nazis on the European landscape while, back home, those who had so unceremoniously dumped him, were propelled further into action. Griffin's family, almost all of whom had had some expense or other paid for by the party during Griffin's fifteen-year tenure, were first to face the axe. Griffin's son-in-law, Angus Matthys, did not turn in for work and had not returned the party vehicle. His and his wife Jennifer's credit card payments were cancelled by the party. Griffin tried desperately to open a dialogue with the new leadership and was studiously ignored.

Throughout the rest of July and August, a panicked Griffin begged and pleaded with the new leadership that the debts he had run up while Chairman were still a danger to the party and should be addressed by it. He also managed to fit in a trip to visit the violent

nazi gang Golden Dawn in Greece. His messages to the party's Executive Council exuded the exasperated desperation of a man predicting the end of the world as he filled his letters and e-mails with threatening critiques of their incompetence and ignorance. In response, the new leadership took the view that Griffin's debts should be left to Griffin. After all, he had as good as bankrupted the party on a number of occasions and his endless missives and phone calls were becoming an increasing irritant, further drawing attention to and underlining the paragraphs in the party constitution that he had had inserted for his own financial protection.

Jefferson, Walker and Harrington turned the screw further by writing a series of articles on the party website where the new leader, Adam Walker, made sly digs at his predecessor's love of all things foreign, in particular boozy lunches and dinners with foreign nazis.

Back at the bar in St Helens, some three months after his removal as Chairman, Griffin was not even a member of the party any more. The BNP had its first headlines for months when they sacked their now former Chairman a week previously, on 1 October, claiming he had "deliberately" fabricated a "state of crisis" and put all his efforts into trying to cause "disunity" within the party.

The leadership had reacted with fury – and a certain amount of glee – that a series of documents had found their way into HOPE not hate's hands even before they were put onto the internet by Griffin and his supporters. HOPE not hate ran a series of illuminating blogs in the aftermath of Griffin being dumped, as we had done for the preceding six months, and had even indicated that Walker was preparing to give Griffin the push.

Reaching out to a young admirer, Griffin touched his arm. "The democratic process is dead for nationalists" he said. "It's just a waste of time and money, we need young people to be out on the streets targeting the traitors, the Islamists and the Marxists destroying this country. The clique in Wigton [the party's head office] are not interested in doing this in case it damages their projected income."

The "projected income" mentioned is the estimated (by the BNP) ten million pounds in future funding the party is due from the estates of dead members and supporters. Perhaps wisely, Adam Walker, Clive Jefferson and Patrick Harrington, who have taken over control of the party, decided to protect that income by removing Griffin and the debt that hovers around him like a very bad smell.

Working out of the party's offices in Wigton, Cumbria, the new leadership was soon given the sobriquet the "Wigton Soviet" as Griffin's growing panic and displeasure incubated into a previously non-existent ideological matter. From almost the very moment he was replaced by Adam Walker, Griffin had called upon the party to have an open leadership election over what he said he now felt was an apparent watering down of the party's ideology. Given that the party had produced no newspaper or anything salient on social media or e-mail for months, it was not hard to gauge that it was Griffin altering his political priorities, not the leadership in Wigton.

By September, the party was in the middle of a magnificent split. In mid-September Griffin attempted a mass mail out to party members and supporters outlining his charges against the leadership. Not the most technically savvy of individuals, the e-mails failed.

Outlining the BNP's financial ongoing distress, Clive Jefferson's impending leg amputation and general incompetence and ignorance, Griffin's e-mail went mainly undelivered. At Jefferson in particular, Griffin levelled accusations that he had positioned himself as the executor of a number of wills that were meant to be left to the party. The implication now made by Griffin was that Jefferson had acted improperly and unbeknown to himself, with BNP monies.

Expanding further through third parties on social media, Griffin outlined that, among other things, a clique of militant homosexuals had taken control of the second tier of the party's leadership and office staff and called again for an immediate leadership election.

There is no evidence to suggest homosexuals – militant or not – have taken control of the party, but the hurried and bilious rants did open up to observers how the party had ground to a halt long before the split.

Griffin claimed his instructions were being ignored for almost a year and that Jefferson, Walker and Harrington with whom he felt he held a secure hold of the party, had ignored his phone calls and instructions. All of this had been well covered by HOPE not hate and bizarrely, Griffin used a series of blogs and articles by Hnh to prove that in his capacity as party manager, Walker had been single-handedly responsible for two years of letting the party's activist base wither away. It seems that between the three of them, Jefferson, Walker and Harrington had developed an enormous grudge and taken to sulking at Griffin's excesses.

Previously, as leader of the BNP, Griffin had managed to see off factions and challengers by using and amending rules in the constitution or by simply steamrolling the democratic process. Whenever he had faced difficulties legal or otherwise – and if he could not run and hide – Jefferson, Walker and Harrington had been despatched to bully, corral and lie on his behalf. Crutchless now without, and in confrontation with, his three most trusted lieutenants and with close friend and former Deputy Leader, Simon Darby, being apparently "held to ransom" over debts the party owes him, factionalism plunged into vulgarity.

Members of the BNP youth wing and a series of low level party *apparatchiks* took over and mounted online attacks on the "Wigton Soviet", who remained perfectly silent, even mounting days of action with people loyal to Griffin as if there was no problem. One organiser told us excitedly that Griffin's actions had gone exactly as Harrington had predicted

and that Harrington had forecast the Griffin faction would launch a parallel organisation, as had one faction in the National Front against Griffin and Harrington in the 80's.

An offer to debate the state of the party with either of the trio (with Walker nominal acting Chairman) fell on deaf ears. An organiser told us how Harrington, the oldest of Griffin's political allies, anticipated every move that Griffin would make, right down to threats of violence.

Walker spoke at a meeting in Salford at the end of September. In a huge jolt to the "Wigton Soviet", thirty Griffin supporters turned up to spoil the party. Split straight down the middle, members of the BNP's Salford branch turned on each other in the street. Calling themselves the "Real BNP", Griffin's supporters demanded Walker came to address them. Instead, Clive Jefferson turned up and issued threats to the group.

Reporting back to the internet, the "Real BNP" gleefully reported that they had stopped Walker from speaking, forcing him to switch to a back-up venue where he addressed just eight members.

Before expelling Griffin, a series of high profile Griffin supporters had already been despatched from their positions and party membership with e-mails and letters in a bid to weaken any Griffin faction that might develop inside the party.

Compounding the confusion for Griffin, who had vowed he wanted to be voted back in as leader of the party, a number of his supporters then publicly resigned their memberships in a protest that further weakened Griffin's hopes of winning any future leadership election. Without their organising it for him, the Wigton faction laughed at how poor Griffin's organisational skills really were.

A Facebook page for the Griffin faction was being administered by a notorious thug and malcontent from Essex who had let his membership lapse for a few weeks a year previously, so they summarily expelled him under the guise he was still on probation.

The Griffin faction had other problems. Overwhelmingly the majority of Griffin's supporters wanted Griffin and themselves back at the helm of the BNP, but with the large number of expulsions racking up, it appeared more and more unlikely that could happen.

Undeterred, Griffin had already called a North West regional meeting (he was still nominally the regional organiser) for later in October where he invited Adam Walker to attend and debate with him. Instead, 24 hours after the humiliations suffered in Salford, Harrington gave Walker and Jefferson the green light to

expel Nick Griffin from the party.

Throughout that day, 1 October, they apparently sweated over what to do if Griffin was allowed to continue to "poison" people within the party. A second e-mail that Griffin had sent to the members had fared only slightly better than the last one, however.

Jefferson, Walker or Harrington had not acted unconstitutionally, even if they were hurriedly making changes to the constitution as they went along. Hearing that a "conduct committee" was meeting to discuss his position as a party member, Griffin reacted by abusing staff members and issuing threats against the leadership before the expulsion decision was even made.

When it was made, HOPE not hate broke the news of Griffin's expulsion on its Twitter feed and Facebook site before even Nick Griffin. Furiously, the BNP leadership cited HOPE not hate's coverage of the BNP's internal difficulties as just one of many reasons for Griffin's expulsion. It was breaking news on the BBC's News channel for four hours.

In St Helens, later that month, Griffin's *faux* smile and firm handshakes did little to help with his confusion. Not only was he out of a job and without a political position, he was now bereft of a party. Everything had become such a mess and the party head office in Wigton had taken control of a number of party e-mail accounts to send out cancellation notices of the meeting.

Griffin was tugging at his cuffs again as he owned up to his St. Helens listeners a whole host failings whilst Chairman of the party. In a stormy meeting, he promised to win back the BNP and form a new party, to create a new militant street organisation, to turn the BNP into a "militant nationalist street organisation" with the militancy of the French and the organisational skills of the German nazi National Democrats.

Just as when they arrived, Griffin's supporters left the meeting with mixed hopes and messages. A second meeting set for London was hurriedly postponed soon after.

At the end of November, both factions were set to meet at the same time in Blackpool. The Wigton faction, the British National Party, will attempt to pull off a two-day conference that moves the party forward. Griffin's faction, occasionally of the name *Real BNP*, switched its meeting from Blackpool to St Helens at the last minute.

What Griffin has decided will be no doubt entirely decided by him alone, on the spot, and judged by the make up of the audience. Hardly a shining example of the German nazi organisational skills he admires so much. ●

A political earthquake or a much needed wake-up call for the silent majority?

By Lisa Goodyear

In the last two years we have seen a surge of intolerance, bigotry and xenophobia in British political life.

Consider what made the headlines in October: the politicisation of child sexual exploitation; the end of rescue operations for refugees fleeing persecution; supposedly mainstream parties aligning with fascists and Holocaust deniers in Europe and a Cabinet-level politician reverting to language, best left in the sixties and seventies, about immigrants swamping Britain.

The question, therefore, for all of us who want to live in – and celebrate – the diverse country

that is the UK, what do we need to do to halt the toxic tide? Is it even possible? And what on earth is happening in Westminster?

The political reality is that, since the 2013 County Council elections, the main three parties – Labour, the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats – have torn themselves apart trying to deal with the electoral eruption of a xenophobic, populist right-wing party.

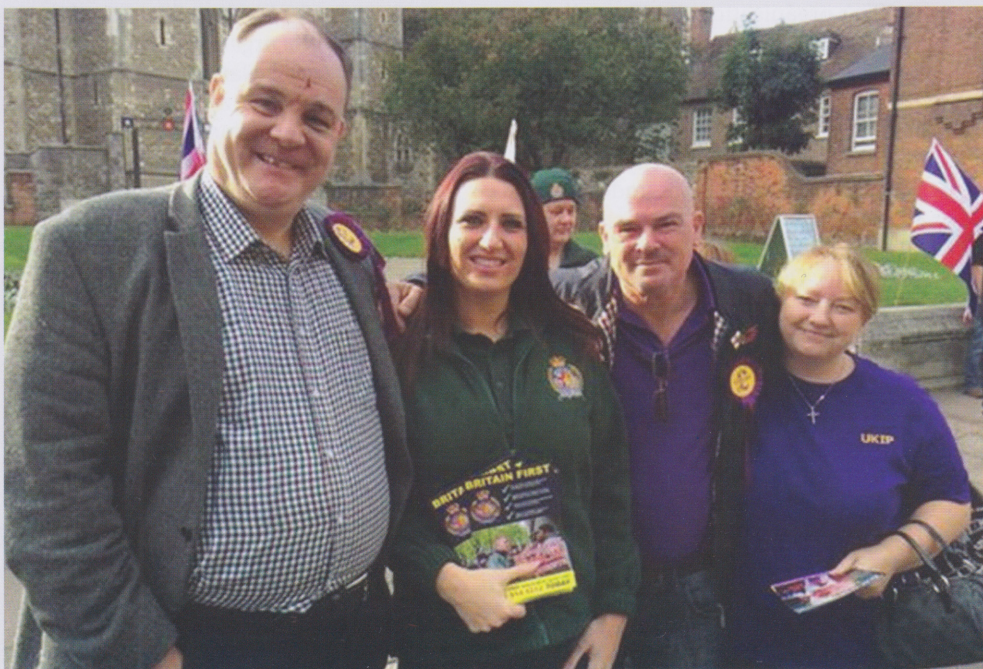
And, to be frank, the response has been both pitiful and shaming and, on occasion, an international embarrassment.

The battle for the UKIP vote began last summer with the abhorrent “Go Home” ad vans in London, a government gimmick promoted and defended by the Conservative Party as a genuine effort to halt illegal immigration. There was no impact on immigration whatsoever but there was on community relations and there was a corresponding spike in tensions.

HOPE not hate initiated a protest campaign and whilst the Labour Party and the Liberal Democrats condemned the “initiative” and the government pledged not to re-use the vans, this gimmick proved to be the beginning, not the end, of chasing after the right-wing vote.

HOPE not hate's ultimate objective is to provide an antidote to the politics of hatred and fear. In communities, and now in the political arena, our goal increasingly seems to be to remind

Britain First candidate Jayda Fransen poses with UKIP activists in Rochester



UKIP has secured its first elected MP, with Douglas Carswell's success in Clacton
Photo: Steve Punter



the political establishment that the majority of people like living in the UK, that they aren't racist or hate-filled but are scared and concerned about their own future and that of the next generation.

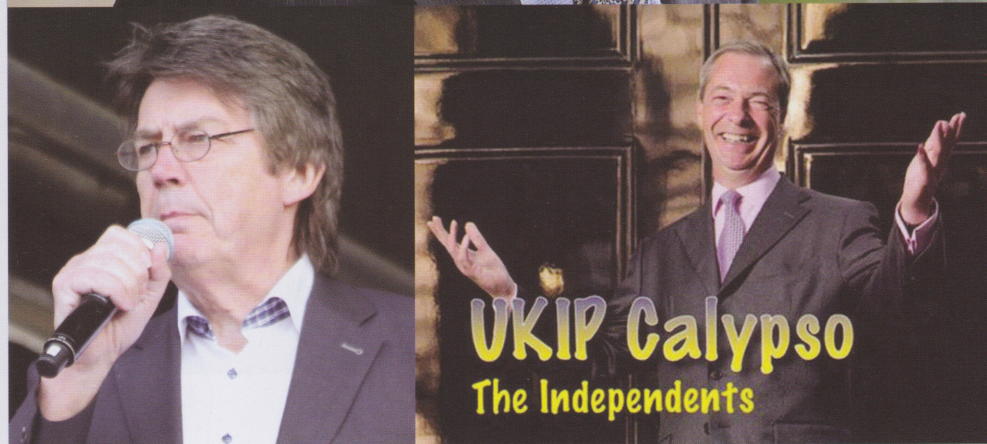
It is cultural and economic issues that need to be resolved rather than engaging in a political arms race over immigration and scapegoating the most vulnerable in society.

Unfortunately, that is not what we have seen since May's European elections. The impetus for this increasingly noxious political environment stems from Nigel Farage's political positioning of UKIP. So what has changed?

The same phenomenon has emerged across Europe, to greater or lesser extent, and the emergence of populist parties promoting anti-European, anti-immigration rhetoric is now a feature in many European Union (EU) member states. UKIP, thus, is not exactly unique but the pernicious impact on our political debate is definitely new, at least for the UK.

The upswing in electoral support for UKIP currently leaves them third party in the UK with an average poll percentage of 18% and little certainty of how exactly that will translate on election day next May.

Which is why we are currently seeing the other political parties flailing around, desperately trying either to out-UKIP UKIP or simply attempting to ignore them when, in reality, everyone, including



(left) Mike Read
Photo: Mark Kent,
and the UKIP Calypso

HOPE not hate, needs to engage with people on the issues they care about and start making the case for the type of country we want to live in.

UKIP's positioning

UKIP's recent actions have fully confirmed it as the "nasty party" of British politics. To consolidate its electoral success and maintain momentum since May, we have seen an unsavoury catalogue of stunts, interventions and political deals that have been overtly xenophobic and covertly racist, whether by design or inadvertently.

In the last few weeks alone, we have seen some of the worst excesses of UKIP's political manoeuvring expose both the political opportunism and populist sentiment at its core.

One need look no further than Mike Read's "Calypso" song – released with the full public support of Nigel Farage – to see what they mean when they

publicly proclaim an end to "political correctness". It is not even the song that we should be concerned about but rather its symbolism.

The worst of UKIP's extremism, however, was highlighted by the devil's bargain it made to maintain an official grouping – and have access to a mountain of cash – in the European Parliament. In October, Farage announced that in order to secure a UKIP-led European alliance, his party would "partner" a Polish MEP from the Polish Congress of the New Right, Robert Iwaszkiewicz, a politician from a party that even French Front National leader Marine le Pen considers as too extreme to associate with.

UKIP's hypocrisy in attempting to claim political legitimacy and distance itself from the BNP while sitting with a party whose leader is a Holocaust denier speaks for itself.

Unfortunately, while we are seeing public polls hardening in terms of the popular perception

of UKIP, it is continuing to see electoral success. In the past month, UKIP has secured its first elected MP, with Douglas Carswell's success in Clacton and was just 600 votes short of unseating the Labour Party in Heywood and Middleton the same day. And, according to all recent polls for the Rochester and Strood by-election, UKIP is on track to secure a second MP this month.

So how are the parties responding?

Well, the simple answer is badly with no obvious strategic response but rather timid ill-thought stunts and policy proclamations designed to try and regain the initiative or, in the worst cases, outdoing UKIP on anything to do with the EU and immigration.

The Conservatives have been blatant in their efforts to reclaim the right and their tactics have been confused, offensive and, at times, downright dangerous.

In recent weeks, their efforts have ranged from abstaining and voting against the appointment of the new European Commission (including their own appointee) and appointing the founder of Migration Watch to the House of Lords to going to war with German chancellor, Angela Merkel, about the free movement of people in the EU. Tory Defence Secretary, Michael Fallon, has even claimed that British towns are being "swamped" by immigrants and their residents are "under siege"... and that is before we even discuss search and rescue operations for asylum seekers..

The most offensive and dangerous move by the government (including coalition partners, the Liberal Democrats) has been the adoption of a new EU-wide policy that will stop rescue operations for migrants seeking hazardous seaborne access to Europe from Africa. Instead they will be left to drown to send a message to other would-be migrants.

Rather than acknowledging the sheer brutality of this move, Immigration Minister, James Brokenshire MP, insisted that the British government's refusal to take part in future rescues and the ending of the current effort was essential because they were encouraging more migrants to make the journey and leading to



Don't let them drown

HOPE not hate has delivered a 20,000-name petition to the Home Office in protest at the government's inhumane decision to withdraw support from Mediterranean rescue missions for migrants as a means of discouraging migration to Europe from Africa.

Ministers claim that rescuing sinking boats acts as a "pull factor" and only encourages further immigration.

As our letter points out: "To believe that this measure will discourage immigration into Europe is clearly unproven and will only lead to more tragic deaths of desperate people."

"We believe that this decision owes more to domestic political pressure in a bid to head off the threat from UKIP and, as such, is no way to develop a coherent and genuine immigration policy."

The government's position is reminiscent of former BNP leader Nick Griffin's infamous suggestion that the EU should sink migrant boats to stop them reaching European shores.

The petition was followed by over 1,500 of our supporters writing to their MPs to ask where they stood on the issue. A leaflet is being produced, which will be distributed in constituencies where MPs support the government's stance.

further deaths. UKIP had no need to comment...

On the other side of the aisle, the Labour Party has not exactly covered itself in glory. Its candidate in the Heywood & Middleton by-election, who is now an MP, described herself on regional television as being "just an ordinary, white, working class woman".

Labour's head office has reportedly established a unit to monitor and attack UKIP but little of substance has emerged to date. There have been repeated reports in the national media that the party's election supremos consider UKIP to be more of a problem for the Conservative Party in the short term and therefore it should not be challenged in advance of the election. Hence Labour's limited campaign in Rochester & Strood.

But even worse than the pandering has been the lack of action. The party, which claims to represent the progressive sections of society, took

full 48 hours to condemn the Government's plans to end search and rescue. It simply isn't good enough.

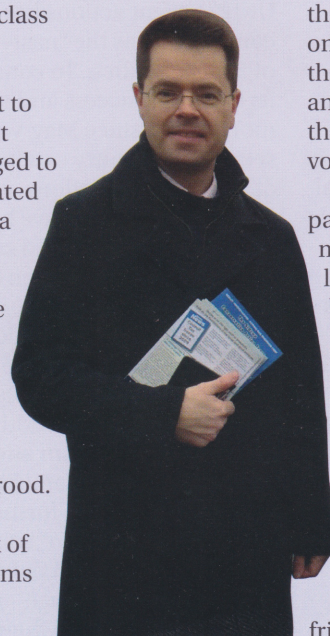
But whom exactly are the parties chasing after and what can we do to stem the tide?

Whilst UKIP did top the polls in this year's European elections, only 9% of the electorate voted for them. Turnout was incredibly low and the real winners in May were the disengaged who chose not to vote at all.

The challenge for all political parties is re-engaging the silent majority with genuine political leadership and a clear vision, both for the country and for local communities across the UK, by offering genuine hope to counter the fears and despair at the heart of UKIP's political manipulation.

In other words, the main parties need to sit up and start fighting for the votes of the silent majority, rather than pandering to the right-wing fringe.

Immigration Minister, James Brokenshire MP





Insulting the war dead



Kevin Watmough (front right) marching with the northern NF demo

TWO HUNDRED fascists marched to the Cenotaph, on Remembrance Day, in a debased insult to all those who gave their lives fighting for this country's freedom from Hitler's Nazis. Many of those on the National Front's demonstrations were avowed nazis and vocal supporters of Hitler's regime.

Among those laying a wreath was Luke Pippen, from Wales. Underneath his black shirt and mac are nazi tattoos. Towards the back of the demonstration was Richard Edmonds, the veteran Holocaust Denier, who thinks and claims that Hitler's concentration and death camps were Allied lies.

In fact, there were two National Front demonstrations as an hour after the main march, thirty southern-

based nazis, also marching under a National Front banner, made their way up Whitehall. This small group was bolstered by Mark Atkinson's nazi Racial Volunteer Force and activists from the racist South East Alliance.

There had been widespread expectation of a clash between the rival groups, largely generated by Eddy Stampton, arguably the most hatred person on the British far right. Despite being out on licence, Stampton issued a warning to his detractors on Facebook by depicting an axe with the comment "someone is going to get cut on 9 November."

However, on the day he was only able to muster a gang of 10, while his opponents, led by Simon Biggs, from Newcastle, had three or four times that number.



RVF's Mark Atkinson (right) settled his differences with Eddy Stampton to march with the southern NF

Luke Pippen hides his nazi tattoos

A campaign of hate



Matthew Collins and Nick Lowles report on a campaign of hate that signals the return of far right antisemitism.

Politicians have to be thick-skinned. They are constantly attacked by their political opponents, the media and an increasingly hostile media but nothing could have prepared Luciana Berger MP for the torrent of hatred, abuse and threats she has received in recent weeks.

Luciana, who is MP for Liverpool Wavertree, was targeted by the small fascist group National Action for no other reason than that she is Jewish. The MP found herself the target of the publicity hungry group in August of this year, when Garron Helm of Thomson Road, Litherland, Merseyside, sent a tweet to her in the early hours of the morning with a crude caricature of her likeness and crude reference to her religion.

In late October, Helm was sentenced to four weeks' imprisonment after an investigation by Merseyside Police's Cyber Intervention Unit. A search of Helm's home uncovered a vast array of Nazi paraphernalia. He had tweeted

using the name "Aethelwulf", which Prior to his arrest, Helm was virtually unknown outside of the small circle of NA activists and, on his imprisonment, achieved near-celebrity status across the far right; though veteran nazi Richard Edmonds did complain that, by wearing masks, NA were likely to scare people. A number of British National Party (BNP) activists also took up Helm's "plight" and also tweeted in support of Helm and, in some cases, threw more disgusting verbal vitriol at the MP.

Helm received not only favourable coverage across the UK far right, but from the United States, too. Alex Linder, who runs the Vanguard News Network, also took up his case as did a host of other US-based extremists.

The Daily Stormer, an obsessive US-based site that many of NA appear to follow, wrote upon Helm's release that "This does not mean that Operation: Filthy Jew Bitch should cease. On the contrary, they have shown weakness by releasing Helm

early, which means now is the time to hit them all the harder. Keep going. Keep making new accounts when you're deleted. The operation will not cease until Luciana Berger is deported to Israel, leaves voluntarily for Israel, or we are all murdered by Jews."

Its writer, Andrew Anglin, a growing personality on the US nazi scene, launched "Operation Filthy Jew Bitch" as soon as Helm was imprisoned. A series of his articles about Berger have found their way onto the social media of a number of BNP members and supporters.

The campaign against Berger has grown apace and, as we go to press, she has received over 20 death threats and over 1,000 abusive and hateful tweets. The intensity of the abuse even surprised Twitter, with a spokesperson telling HOPE not hate that the campaign was quite different from what the company was used to experiencing and commenting: "The norm is that once someone has been



imprisoned or received negative media attention, then the abuse tends to die down. This has been quite the reverse. The more attention the hatred against Luciana Berger has received the greater the intensity."

Community Security Trust communications director Mark Gardner said: "If any good comes from this awful hounding of Luciana Berger, then it will be to bring politicians and lawmakers to better realise that CST and many other anti-racist groups are entirely correct to insist that social media platforms are brought into line with the rest of society when publishing or hosting vile hatred."

Joining the Daily Stormer in its offensive was serial troll and harasser, Joshua Bonehill, who encouraged his followers to participate in the abuse though, of course, he did a lot himself. Bonehill, now awaiting trial for harassing nine different people on the internet, used his various fake Twitter accounts and his Daily Bale website to go after Berger and, later, fellow MP John Mann, who had spoken out in her defence.

While the police launched yet another investigation into Bonehill's antics, Twitter shut down several of his fake accounts.

In early November, National Action activists held a demonstration outside Luciana Berger's constituency office which resulted in ten of the nazis being arrested. Five were from Merseyside and another five from Leeds.

One of those arrested was 19-year-old Stephen Dumont, 19, of Rosewood Close, Netherley, who was jailed last year for his part in a violent attack on anti-fascists in Liverpool's city centre Bold Street. Writing on Facebook, another nazi, hiding behind the name 'John London', claimed that they were arrested

as they approached the MP's office by police who "were waiting for them – no doubt to protect Jew You Know."

The abuse has thrown into the spotlight the issue of whether social media companies, such as Facebook and Twitter, and internet providers more generally, are doing enough to control and limit hatred online. John Mann said firms, including Twitter and Facebook, had not taken their responsibilities seriously and that "something is significantly wrong" with their approach to tackling hatred on their sites.

While the intensity of the abuse has been unprecedented in recent times, it does reflect a resurgence of open antisemitism on the British far right that has coincided with the political collapse of the BNP.

After many years of attempting to

moderate their public image, BNP members and former members feel able to vocalise their true views now that the party is a political irrelevance.

What is also disconcerting, however, is that National Action is made up of young nazis, with ages ranging from 15 to 25. That they have such ingrained antisemitism is testament to the pivotal role that antisemitic thought has in fascist thinking.

This concludes a difficult few months for Britain's Jewish community which has seen a massive increase in antisemitic incidents. According to the Community Security Trust, which continuously monitors antisemitism and protects community buildings, there were 300 antisemitic incidents in July – a 400 per cent increase on the same month in 2013.

Anti-fascists should actively oppose ISIS

Joe Mulhall explains why...

THE PROUD TRADITION of anti-fascists uniting to condemn and fight fascism in whatever form it arises is now at risk as many politicians, opinion leaders and activists drag their feet and obfuscate in the face of the rise and expansion of the Islamic State (IS).

IS, led by an Iraqi called Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, was formerly the Islamic State of Iraq (ISI), an al-Qaida-linked group in Iraq. Seeking to capitalise on the increasingly unstable situation in Syria, Baghdadi extended its operations, forming the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS) in 2013.

Sharp differences over strategy and ideology – ISIS was deemed too extreme even for al-Qaida (AQ) – led to a split between ISIS and Jabhat al-Nusra, AQ's Syrian affiliate.

ISIS then ruthlessly and effectively expanded and, in June 2014, changed its name to the Islamic State (IS) to reflect what it believed was its resurrection of the Islamic caliphate (an Islamic state with a single political and religious leader known as a caliph). It has been estimated that IS is now the richest terrorist organisation in the world with a value of around 2 billion US dollars.

IS is a Sunni extremist formation that condemns modern Islam and calls for a return to the religion's earliest days. All pluralism is rejected and those who disagree, even other Muslims, are denounced as infidels and apostates, a crime punishable by death.

While IS's tactics (both military and propaganda) are markedly modern, its ideology is fundamentally anti-modern and rooted in strident rejection of progressive notions of democracy, equality of gender and sexuality and freedom of religion. The violent rejection of these ideas and the forced imposition of its barbaric values system upon the peoples of the region have been catastrophically bloody.

IS's fanatics have swept through vast areas of Iraq and Syria like a sandstorm, butchering, raping and murdering their way across the region. Like all fascistic groups they murder and persecute people, not for what they have done, but because of who they *are*. Shia Muslims, Assyrian, Syriac, Chaldean and Armenian Christians, Yazidis, Druze, Mandeans and Shabaks have all been mercilessly put to the sword.

Torture, beheading, crucifixion, the enslavement and rape of women have been conducted on a genocidal scale, not by a small band of desert warriors but by a large, ever-growing and murderous "state" with modern and well-equipped armed forces.

The Anti-fascist Response

Over the years, the search for a universally accepted definition of fascism has spawned hundreds of books and articles but no lasting consensus has yet materialised. As a result, anti-fascists have usually consigned the quest for such a definition to the hallowed halls of academic institutions, their own practical consensus being built around the seemingly self-evident need for fascism to be

opposed in whatever forms it appears.

While George Orwell lamented the absence of a satisfactory definition of fascism, he believed firmly that, whatever it was, it represented the rise of everything that was hateful in society and thus felt it axiomatic that it should be opposed.

Anti-fascists of all political backgrounds have traditionally united in condemning and fighting the antisemitism, racism, homophobia, sexism and totalitarianism of innumerable fascistic groups around the world no matter how these groups look, dress or even defined themselves. In the case of Islamist extremism, this has yet to be the case.

While there are welcome signs that some anti-fascists and the left more generally are slowly waking up to these issues, we must raise our voices much louder and claim this as our fight.

Anti-fascists should be at the vanguard of the battle against Islamist extremism, shaping the fight in the interest of tolerance, equality and human rights. If we do not make this the anti-fascist issue of our age, we will be conceding the battlefield to those who will seek to use this issue for the promotion of intolerance, bigotry, racism and opposition to democratic rights.

Anti-fascist must mobilisation against Islamist extremism within Britain by confronting groups that support the worldview of IS. In addition, however, we have to increase pressure on the UK government to do more in the face of IS's expansionist totalitarianism in Iraq and Syria.

This surely means supporting the Kurdish resistance by backing airstrikes as well as increasing the supply of arms and heavy weapons.

For those, angered by western interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan and who intransigently decry any British involvement against IS as imperialism, it is time to realise that no amount of blogging, tweeting or demonstrating will help the Kurdish resistance fighters but providing them with aid, arms and air cover will.

"This is not our fight" is the common refrain from some who oppose practical engagement but such comments are as naïve as they are ignorant and immoral. The lessons of history are clear: the Holocaust, Cambodia, Rwanda, Bosnia and Darfur all show the price of dithering and inaction.

Those who went to Spain in the 1930s to confront fascism were often called "premature anti-fascists" as they saw the dangers of not confronting evil, hatred and the threat to the international working class before most others. The tortures, rapes and mass murders carried out by IS's "fighters" – and the countless terrorist attacks of other Islamist organisations – are well documented, making it rather too late to become "premature" anti-Islamists. But, if the anti-fascist movement does not wake up and unite in the face of this monstrous barbarism, we risk being caught on the wrong side of history.

■ Do you agree with Joe Mulhall? Tell us what you think by joining our online debate at www.hopenothate.org.uk/debate/

Cheerleading for ISIS

Anjem Choudary has emerged as one of the biggest cheerleaders for ISIS in the English-speaking world, pushing its message and announcing that people should support the self-declared Caliphate. At the same time, his followers have been flocking to the ISIS cause, at home and abroad.

Nick Lowles reports on the growing international importance of radical cleric Anjem Choudary.

It has been a busy few months for Anjem Choudary. Media interviews, online lectures, private conversations and, of course, the small matter of a police raid. In fact, he has probably never been in so much demand now that his role as ISIS' ambassador-at-large has led to interest in him from across the world.

Since ISIS announced the formation of the Islamic State in June, Choudary has been interviewed or referenced over 60 times in media outlets in more than 14 countries around the world, to the point that he is now an internationally known figure. His arrest, in late September, generated dozens more newspaper

articles all over the world and yet further publicity and recognition. All this has made him the go-to figure when TV outlets and newspaper journalists are looking for a shocking foil to the pundits criticising ISIS' actions in Syria and Iraq.

Choudary joins a growing number of radical preachers who have offered ISIS their open and vocal support. Among the others are the Australian radical preacher Musa Cerantonio who, researchers at the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation found, is among the most influential of a "new set of new spiritual authorities" who use social media to cheerlead for jihad and persuade young men to join the conflict in Syria and Iraq.

Others are Abu Baker Bashir, an Indonesian cleric and spiritual leader of the former Jemaah Islamiyah, and the Jamaican national, Abdullah Faisal, who leads the Authentic Tauheed.



Cheerleading for ISIS



Since ISIS declared itself as an Islamist State, Anjem Choudary has been pushing its cause and his own extremist agenda on media outlets throughout the world. His reach and prominence in the media makes him the single biggest cheerleader for ISIS in the English-speaking world.



Household name

The British public has become quite used to Choudary's provocative statements and stunts over the years, helped, of course, by sections of the media only too willing to give him a platform. Now, he is increasingly speaking to a global audience.

Over the last few months, media outlets in six continents have showcased Choudary. In the United States alone, he has appeared on CNN, CBS, Fox News and ABC. He has had a major feature on him in the *Washington Post* and his arrest was reported in numerous newspapers, including the *Wall Street Journal*, *Chicago Tribune* and the *LA Times*.

He has become an international hate figure for the large anti-Muslim "Counter-Jihad" movement and a cause of acute embarrassment for America's own Muslim communities, who have no comparable extremist of their own.

Some of Choudary's media interviews have justified and supported the so-called Islamic State which he has welcomed and declared "legitimate".

Speaking to Lebanese TV in early July, Choudary said that there were now two camps in the world: those who believe in man-made law, who he said are led by President Obama and those who believe in the law of God and who was led by ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi.

"This propaganda is not just a case of demonising the enemy, even the terminology we use we need to be very careful with, because there is nothing called moderate Islam or extremist Islam, there is Islam. Yes, we are extreme from (sic) democracy and freedom, liberalism and human rights."

Asked to comment on Obama's strategy of supporting moderate groups in Syria, Choudary responded: "What the policy of the West has always been is to divide and rule. What they want to say is that these people are extreme, so support the others so as to cause factions to fight with each other. But, in fact, if you look at the history of the Caliphate, even if you look now in the area controlled by the Islamic State, the Jews, the Muslims and the Christians are living side by side in security. It is not true that people are being slaughtered. Those people who are

allied with the previous regime or those who are fighting against the Muslims, certainly they will be fought against."

Denying ISIS' horrific atrocities and claiming it is just Western propaganda has become a central plank of Choudary's work. He and his cohorts toured the TV studios at the height of media interest in ISIS, playing down reports of atrocities and urging Muslims to rally behind the new "state".

He has also steadfastly refused to condemn ISIS' beheading of US and UK citizens by claiming that they were perhaps guilty of some crime. "There are circumstances in *Sharia* where there is capital punishment for crimes that have been committed," he told *The Guardian* following the beheading of US journalist James Foley. "Now," he added, "I don't know anything about these journalists, why they were there, whether they were spying or in fact part of the military. Often it turns out that people have other roles as well."

In the same interview, he then tried to turn the tables by claiming the beheadings were actually the fault of the US and UK authorities by both their foreign policies and their refusal to deal with ISIS. "If you look at the death of James Foley," he said, "you only have to listen to the person who is executing him to know that the blame is the Americans' because of their own foreign policy. The fact is that decades of torture, cruelty and mass murder will have repercussions."

Responding to the British media outcry following the beheading of Alan Henning, who was in Syria on an aid mission, Choudary told the *Daily Telegraph*: "In the Qaran it is not allowed for you to feel sorry for non-Muslims. I don't feel sorry for him... I don't know the real story, I only heard from the British Government and media."

More provocatively, Choudary has revelled in telling the media that he would love to move to the Islamic State – if only the authorities would let him. "I'd go tomorrow. I'd love to bring my children up there," he told the *Sunday Mirror*. "I believe the world belongs to God and that one day, hopefully, the UK will be part of an Islamic State. Why shouldn't I be free to travel to the *Khalifah* [caliphate] and see what life is like under the *Sharia*?" he told *The Times*.

Conveniently sidestepping the question as to why he did not go before police raided him in late September, he used the confiscation of his passport as an excuse. "If the Home Office give me back my passport, I could start making plans straight away because I would love to bring up my children under *Sharia* law. I could do a farewell press conference at Heathrow Airport," he told *IBT UK*.

Changing tactics

Choudary has gloried in this media attention and his increasingly busy media schedule has coincided with changing tactics back home. His group has not organised a public protest or demonstration for six months, in contrast to the fortnightly events it was organising a year ago. Now Choudary prefers to focus on his increasingly regular Paltalk online lectures that reach an international audience.

At the same time, he appears to be using two of his closest supporters, Mizanur Rahman (*aka* Abu Baraa) and Hindu convert, Abu Rumaysah, to front up his British operation. This pair has increasingly been put up for interviews and, in Rahman's case, has been pontificating on life through his own online lectures.

His ruminations have ranged from speaking out against the Poppy to explaining why IS has not attacked Israel and attacking conspiracy theorists for allegedly spreading rumours that somehow the Israeli intelligence services are behind IS.



Both British ISIS suicide bombers, Abdul Waheed Majeed and Kabir Ahmed, have had links to al Muhajiroun

Choudary's global reach

More evidence has emerged over the last few months of Choudary's growing global reach

1. DENMARK: In early July, Choudary travelled to Denmark to help establish a new Jihadist group, Islam4dk. This was to replace Kaldet til Islam which Choudary and Omar Bakri Mohammed had helped establish in 2004.

Over the years, Kaldet til Islam has been a major recruiter of jihadists for Syria but recently collapsed following the death in Syria of leader Abu Musa (aka Shiraz Tariq).

To generate publicity for his new organisation, Choudary toured TV studios and national newspapers telling them provocatively that he wanted Christiansborg to be renamed "Muslimborg".

"He creates an atmosphere of confrontation and hatred, and incites young Muslims to go to Syria and fight. He is anti-democratic and is exclusively for the Sharia," terrorism researcher Magnus Ranstorp, of the National Defence College in Stockholm, told the Danish media.

2. CANADA: Michael Zehaf-Bibeau, the Islamist extremist who stormed Canada's parliament and shot dead a soldier, followed Anjem Choudary on twitter.

3. BELGIUM: 46 people went on trial in Belgium in September, accused of recruiting young Muslims through the Sharia4Belgium network to fight in Syria. Sharia4Belgium was part of Choudary's Sharia network until it was publicly disbanded in October though the court has been told how the network remained in place.

The founder of the group is Fouad Belkacem who, the court heard, travelled to London in 2011 to meet Choudary to discuss setting up the network. He was imprisoned in 2012 for incitement to hatred and violence towards non-Muslims.

4. PORTUGAL: At least a dozen Portuguese nationals have fought for ISIS, according to security police, and at least four of them are believed to have been radicalised by Choudary whilst living in Waltham Forest, London.

5. INDONESIA: A report from the Indonesia-based Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict found that Anjem Choudary had played a key role in recruiting and guiding two of the most important ISIS recruiters in Indonesia.

The report, titled '*The Evolution of ISIS in Indonesia*', found that Tuah Febriwansyah (alias Muhammad Fachry) and Bahrum Syah (alias Muhammad al Indunisi) had both been involved in Al -Muhajiroun for many years.



Fachry organised Choudary's visit to Indonesia in 2010 to establish a Sharia4Indonesia group.

Since then, both went to Syria, with Muhammad al Indunisi fronting up an ISIS video, titled: 'Joining the ranks'.

6. FINLAND: Awat Hama Salih (alias Awat Karkuky), a close ally of Anjem Choudary and a leading figure in the European operation of Ansar al-Islam, has left the UK for Finland where he has married and is believed to be recruiting activists to fight in Syria.

He shares pro-ISIS propaganda on his numerous Facebook and twitter accounts and, in August, was among the first to publish the link to ISIS' new recruitment video, in which Sayid Hussein of Espoo also appeared.

7. NETHERLANDS: A new report, produced by the Dutch Security Services (AIVD), describes how the homegrown jihadist movement in the Netherlands has experienced a sudden and explosive growth in recent years.

The 58-page report, called: '*The Transformation of Jihadism in the Netherlands: Swarm Dynamics and New Strength*', states that as well as growing in size, the jihadist movement is becoming more open and confrontational.

The report cites Anjem Choudary and his Islam4UK movement as major influences on the development of the Dutch jihadist scene, both with the creation of Sharia4Holland and the Behind Bars/Street Dawah initiatives as well as with the adoption of its provocative tactics.

"By making use of activist techniques like demonstrations and leafleting to disseminate provocative jihadist propaganda openly, these groups were able to mobilize some fellow Muslims and attract new recruits," according to the AIVD. "Many young people, in particular, found a way of venting their jihadist ideals through such activities."

8. SPAIN: Anjem Choudary admitted to the *Guardian* in September that he had recently visited Spain to establish a group there.





(above) These British jihadists are among the more than 100 linked to the al Muhajiroun network who have gone to Syria.

(right) Mizanur Rahman (aka Abu Baraa) is becoming increasingly important in the UK al Muhajiroun operation.

Mobilising for terror

However, as HOPE not hate has repeatedly said: behind Choudary's clownish antics there is a person who has inspired and indoctrinated a generation of terrorists in the UK and abroad.

Our report, *A Gateway to Terror*, published late last year, linked Choudary and his mentor, Omar Bakri Mohammed, to over seventy people convicted of terrorism or terror-related offences or indeed who had even died carrying them out. Since that report was released, another nine people have been convicted, including Michael Adebolajo and Michael Adebowale – the coldblooded murderers of British soldier Lee Rigby – with links to Choudary.

Among the new names to be added to the list are the two British suicide bombers, Abdul Waheed Majeed and Kabir Ahmed, who have blown themselves up in truck bombs in recent months.

Abdul Waheed Majeed, 41, from Crawley, died earlier this year as he drove his truck into Aleppo jail. He had a long association with al-Muhajiroun and was reported to be a driver for the group's founder, Omar Bakri Mohammed.

Kabir Ahmed died more recently when he detonated a truck bomb that killed an



Iraqi Army General and several soldiers. From Derby, Kabir Ahmed was another well-known al-Muhajiroun activist who had been convicted in 2012 for distributing homophobic leaflets calling for gay men to be killed.

Others convicted in recent months include Royal Barnes, 23, and his wife Rebekah Dawson, 22, who were convicted for uploading three videos praising the murder of Lee Rigby and mocking mourners.

Barnes had only just been convicted along with Jordan Horner and Ricardo McFarlane for harassing people they deemed "non-believers" during one of their so-called *Sharia* Patrols in East London. They were jailed for a total of two years and ten months and served with five-year ASBOs, banning them from distributing material about *Sharia* law to the public or even meeting each other.

Horner, meanwhile, was to receive a

further two-year sentence in June for his part in a sectarian attack on Shia followers along the Edgware Road after an al-Muhajiroun demonstration. Eleven others were convicted for the attack on two men, including 39 year-old Dr Mirza Tariq Ali, 39, from Walthamstow, who has also acted as the leader of the Sharia4Pakistan group. He is believed to have fled the country before the verdict was handed down.

Others convicted included Mohammed Almagir, 34, Mirza Ali, 38, Mohad Uddin, 36, and Kamran Khan, 29.

Another, convicted in his absence, was Abu Aziz, a prominent Choudary supporter and a regular on Salafi Media, one of the most important pro-Jihadist online sites in the UK. He fled the UK for Syria in the company of Birmingham-based Junaid Hussain, who was also awaiting trial for violent disorder, vowing never to return.

A month before Abu Aziz left to join ISIS, he issued a rally cry for his fellow Muslims to join the Jihadists in Syria.

The path to Jihad

Choudary's network continues to be the largest single group channelling recruits to jihadist groups in Syria and Iraq, though he himself is at pains to state that he is not directly involved in sending people abroad.

In mid-June, an internet video appeared of two men from Cardiff and another from Aberdeen boasting of their affiliation to ISIS and their willingness to die for Jihad. The two Cardiff men were well known locally and had attended

lectures held by Choudary and his close confidant, Abu Izzadeen, formerly known as Trevor Brooks.

HOPE not hate estimates that well over 100 Britons with some connection to Choudary and the al-Muhajiroun network have gone to Syria to fight. Most are from London, but others originate from Luton, Crawley, Cardiff, Birmingham, Stoke-on-Trent, Leicester, Derby, Leeds, Halifax and Manchester.

The Luton group is believed to be 20-25 strong, though some appear to have been killed.

Choudary denies that he is encouraging people to go and fight but he will not condemn them. "Although we don't recruit people to send abroad," he told the *Daily Star*, "we are not surprised if they want to go abroad and stand with their Muslim brothers and sisters who are being killed and whose land is being occupied."

"Surely it is a noble thing to want to liberate Muslim land? I have no shame whatsoever in saying these people were at times in some way or other affiliated with us."

Crackdown

The authorities continue to be unsure how exactly to deal with Choudary.

Despite the government's promise to crackdown on the radical preacher, expressed most recently by Home Secretary, Theresa May, at the Conservative Party conference, little of substance appears to have been done except for monitoring and harassment.

In late June, the government outlawed a further three groups it claimed were aliases for the banned al-Muhajiroun – Need4Khilafah, The Shariah Project and The Islamic Dawah Association – bringing to eleven the number of Choudary-linked groups that are now proscribed.

The groups were all banned under the 2000 Terrorism Act which states that a group can be proscribed if it "commits or participates in acts of terrorism, prepares for, promotes or encourages terrorism or is otherwise concerned in terrorism."

It seems surprising, then, that, if the government believes that these groups are participating in, promoting or encouraging terrorism, none of its leaders have been prosecuted.

The police did finally move against Choudary and eight of his closest supporters in late September, just days before the UK government announced its intention to participate in air strikes against ISIS.

Along with Choudary, others arrested on suspicion of belonging to a proscribed organisation included Abu Izzadeen, former boxing champion Anthony Small, Mizanur Rahman, Abu Rumaysah, Abu Saalihah and Abdul Muhid, who runs the Muslim Prisoners organisation.

All were released the following day on police bail, with the exception of Abu Izzadeen who was found to be in breach of an existing licence.

While we will wait to see if any of these people are prosecuted, the police will view these arrests as part of the ongoing disruption of the group and, with the confiscation of all their computers, a useful intelligence-gathering operation.

The arrests have done little to dampen Choudary's spirits or curtail his activities, however. He continues to preach via the internet, give interviews to media outlets across the world and inspire another generation of jihadists.

It remains to be seen how an ISIS defeat will affect Choudary's standing but, for now, he is exploiting this conflict and his position as the group's international cheerleader to greatly enhance his reputation and enlarge his supporter base across the world.

Gateway to Terror

Anjem Choudary and the al-Muhajiroun network



HOPE not hate
www.hopenothate.org.uk

Available from
HOPE not hate

The terror connection



GATEWAY TO TERROR is a new report by HOPE not hate into Anjem Choudary and the al-Muhajiroun network. It is the most detailed investigation into this Islamist extremist organisation, its structures and its terrorist connections.

The 60-page publication lists those convicted of terrorism or terror-related offences, or who have

actually participated in suicide attacks, who have been linked to the group. It names the man who narrated a recent al-Shabaab video and his links to the group. It charts the growing connections between Choudary and the northern Iraqi Ansar al-Islam and discloses that between 200-300 supporters from Choudary's network have gone to fight in Syria.

Gateway to Terror can be purchased for £5 (plus £2 p&p) from
www.hopenothate.org.uk/al-muhajiroun/

“Should HOPE not Hate differentiate between violent and non-violent extremism when deciding how to confront Islamist extremists?”

Following a lively exchange on a closed Facebook page, political activist David Toube and author and communications advisor Nick Ryan agreed to debate the nature of the Islamist threat in an open exchange of letters.

To follow the full debate, and add in your own thoughts, go to www.hopenothate.org.uk/debate/

Dear Nick,

I'd like to make three points. The first is that, in most cases “non-violent extremism” is a misnomer. Many of those mistakenly described as “non-violent” because they oppose domestic terrorism have in fact supported targeted attacks on civilians outside Britain, or against British soldiers.

Secondly, perhaps for this reason, the ideological dividing line between “violent” and “non-violent” extremists has often turned out to be very narrow indeed.

Finally, and most importantly, what is objectionable about Islamism is not principally its association with political violence. The problem is that Islamism regards sacred texts and religious commentary as a political blueprint for the remaking of society.

They intend to go about that task in a manner that systematically and fatally discriminates against women, religious minorities, and dissenters. Violence is often, but not always, the means by which that end is pursued. However, violent or not, we should always campaign against an ideology which denies equality between persons and which encourages hatred and bigotry.

On the dividing line between “violent” and “non-violent” Islamists, it is helpful to consider the example of the Islamic Education and Research Academy and the Portsmouth Da'wa Team.

The iERA is an organisation run by an Old Ampleforthian convert called Abdur Raheem Green. Their original Board of Advisors was composed of a number of hate preachers, many now banned from the United Kingdom for preaching hatred of Gays and Jews, supporting child-marriages and the calling for the death penalty for “apostates”.

The iERA don't just preach these views, as a private or spiritual matter. Rather they teach their supporters that they are under an obligation to struggle for a divinely ordained Islamic State, which they believe is the only way to create a kingdom of justice on earth. They have spent years touring universities and communities, largely unopposed, promoting this message. When challenged, they emphasise that they are not calling for attacks against minorities. Instead, they think that such punishments should only be imposed by the Islamic State they hope to create.

Earlier this year, it became clear that a team of young men in Portsmouth, who had been distributing Islamist material while wearing iERA T-shirts, had gone to Syria to fight on behalf of the Islamic State. Most are now dead.

The response of the iERA was interesting. They published a statement that disclaimed all responsibility, arguing that they had taught that it was more important for young men to engage in proselytisation in the United

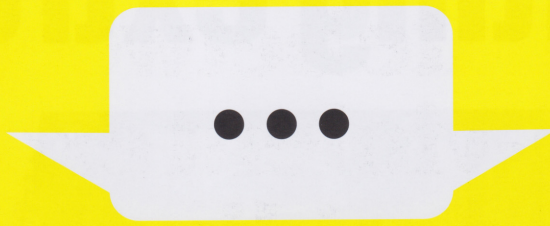
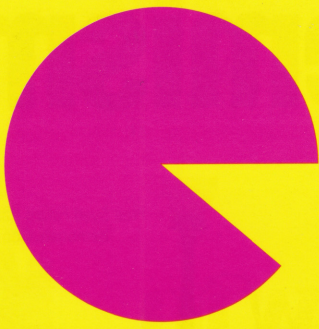
Kingdom than to fight abroad.

Let us assume that they are telling the truth. Even so, if you persuade somebody that a human rights-denying Islamic State is the solution to the world's problems, many will ask: why *shouldn't* we be fighting for it, now? The dividing line between the “violent” and “non-violent” camps, in practice, is often an illusory one.

HOPE not Hate was set up to fight ideologies that promote hatred. It stands firm against violent nazi groups, like Combat 18. That does not mean that it ignores “non-violent” groups like the British National Party, which has chosen the electoral path, or refrains from criticising political parties which contain some extremists, like UKIP. It didn't shy away from calling for the exclusion of the Quran-burning Pastor Terry Jones, because he dressed up bigotry as religious faith. The same standards should apply whether the hatemongers are nazis or Islamists.

There is a desperate need for civil society, clearly and boldly, to stand against theocracy and the preaching of contempt for others. With its experience in tackling hatred and bigotry, HOPE not Hate is ideally placed to turn the tide against Islamist extremism. I hope that such a campaign, in turn, will make violent terrorist attacks less likely. But that cannot be its primary purpose.

David Toube



JOIN THE DEBATE

www.hopenothate.org.uk/debate/

Dear David,

Where to begin ...? Deciding who, and what, is an “extremist” is a complex task these days. With the growing number of pundits, columnists and bloggers all waving their flags and claiming to have definite answers, you’d think it’d be easier!

We began a lively discussion on Facebook recently, when HOPE not hate’s Nick Lowles asked an open question about “what” was Islamist extremism, and where should we draw the red lines when defining and understanding its threat.

My view, in a nutshell, is that the world exists in shades of grey and doesn’t fit into neat “black and white” parcels”. Most people can’t even agree on what “Islamism” is, or if they think they understand it, use it so widely it becomes useless (and in the public’s mind becomes synonymous with all Islam and all Muslims and thus ends up becoming a tool of the “Counter-Jihadists”, such as Robert Spencer and Pamela Geller).

So my approach to extremism in the Muslim sphere is on a case-by-case basis. Partly because I don’t have enough hubris to claim I have all the knowledge or answers and partly because, as a journalist, I have met scores of different kinds of “extremists” and they rarely fall within neatly-defined boundaries and partly because I have also come to (slowly) know and understand elements of the Muslim communities in Britain, which are fantastically varied.

Those communities are still immature and much divided but they are evolving and growing fast, so anything we say about them is not set in stone. What someone said a decade (or more) ago is not necessarily proof of their feelings today. Too much criticism levelled at so-called (non-violent) “Islamist” groups is, in my view, based on this kind of “guilt-by-linkage” or an over-wide definition of very conservative/illiberal

views (on women, gays, on other faiths, etc) which, while possibly reprehensible, aren’t necessarily proof of “extremism”.

Certainly not proof, or useful, in breaking the link or allure of violent groups such as the Islamic State or al-Qaeda (AQ) which are, more often than not, opposed by many of the mosques, imams, political Muslim organisations and speakers which seem to be frequently flagged up as “problematic” by blogs such as Harry’s Place. Sometimes it is the very conservative figures – even super-literalist *Salafis* – who can prove the best allies in piercing IS’s toxic, *takfiri*-led narrative.

We should be opposing the violence-using and supporting extremists without question but we’re not going to stop foreign fighters by going after everyone who has read Maulana Maududi or Syed Qutb [ideological founders of the Jamaat and Muslim Brotherhood movements, respectively]. Are we going to persecute people for thought crimes? No.

If we’re going to tackle the extremist threat, then we need to understand what we’re talking about. Branding every political Muslim group ‘Islamists’ – ranging from the Tunisians of Ennahda, who’ve peacefully given up power, to Tayyip Erdogan’s AKP in Turkey; through the Ikhwan (Muslim Brotherhood) in the Middle East and Jamaat-e-Islami on the Subcontinent; and thence to ISIS and AQ; before coming back (via the now-discredited “conveyor belt” theory) to politically active, non-violent Muslim groups in the UK – is not really very useful.

We’re just going to end up pushing *all* Muslims further away, whilst we insist and rant that “they” must change. Dragging HOPE not hate into that ideological fight is not going to work, in my view.

I don’t think the French experiment, for example – strong stance on “our” values, banning face veils and then seeing random members of the public ripping off headscarves on public transport from Muslim

women – is one we should emulate here.

The danger, in fact, of getting this wrong is that we don’t get change from *within* (the Muslim communities). Change which, by the way, is already happening as people begin to prosper, get better education, and move out of their (often inner city) first generation locations.

There are certainly organisations and individuals who shout loudly and very confidently about the problems of Islamism. But these people are, by and large, loathed by most Muslims. How can that be positive?

If we can’t get Muslims onside, bar a few liberal/secular groups here and there, no matter how much you or I may like them, what effect are we really going to have? We’re just telling each other what we want to hear, mouthing meaningless platitudes about our muscular liberal values, whilst losing the support of the very people we wish to reach.

The danger, for me, is actually of *losing* our values: of sacrificing our tolerance during a McCarthyite scare for an enemy that seems amorphous and growing at every turn (“the enemy within”). In my view, we need to beware our certainties: we (and HOPE not hate) should continue to question and analyse our assumptions, because we’re entering a very uncertain phase in human history.

So, sometimes, it’s easier to say what we should *not be*, than what we should be. Of course, groups like HOPE not hate should stress and champion their values, and continue to oppose the politics of hate. But they, and we, should be prepared to test and re-test our assumptions. And by talking and engaging with Muslims – not just *some* Muslims, the ones “we” like – we can avoid being seduced by the sound of our own “perfect” ideologies. In doing so, we’ll be able to work with those communities in isolating the real extremists.

Nick Ryan @ryanscribe

Preventing extremism



By **Dilwar Hussain**

As we can see from recent events at home and abroad, one of the most debated security threats of our time finds its roots in a violent and extreme vision of Islam (often called “Islamism”). The targeting of Christians and Shia Muslims – and the methods used – by ISIL goes beyond even the most gruesome and vilest actions we have come to expect from Al-Qaida (AQ).

THE WORD “ISLAMIST” is controversial (and imprecise) as its usage is quite broad and those who advocate a political project in the name of Islam (where the Arabic equivalent term, *Islamiyun*, comes from) can range from peaceful democrats to aggressive revolutionaries that are at war with “The West”. Pre 9/11,

the term was often used to refer to the former whilst, post 9/11, the term has come to symbolise violent Jihadist movements.

Many Muslims have dismissed this as a “distorted” Islam, though it has been difficult for Muslims to say simply “they (the Jihadists) are not (true) Muslims”

and disown the individuals concerned. Likewise, by arguing that “they are against our values” or that “British multiculturalism has failed”, we do not get to the bottom of the complexity of how such movements have gained traction in western countries, leading to the “radicalisation” of some Muslim individuals.

So what creates this radicalisation of opinion? For some a simple answer is: “foreign policy”. Or for others, it’s the ideology of “Islamism”. In my view, neither of these account on their own for the transition from a position of anger and, perhaps, even alienation to the commitment and desire to join terrorist

groups. The radicalisation process is a complex one where multiple factors come together.

Firstly, there are theological factors. While there is no shortage of those who interpret Islam to as a force for dialogue, cooperation and solidarity, some interpret Islam as being about “us and them”. This has been exacerbated by the sense that one is living in a *Dar al-Harb* (territory of war) and also the idea of *takfir* (akin to excommunication).

The Jihadist mindset seems to view the world as being in a state of war against key Western nations such as the USA and UK. Reversing the normative Islamic worldview, conflict has become normalised and peace exceptionalised. Jihad is taken to be an offensive, pre-emptive act that can be used to change society and replace its leadership. This is initially targeted against the *kuffar* (disbelievers) but even Muslims are not spared: a narrowly defined notion of purity, the consequences of sin, and the concept of *takfir* are deployed to push people outside Islam's boundaries.

For Jihadists, this then legitimises violence upon such people who may be deemed as supporters of the *kuffar*. It is also pertinent to note here that the contemporary movements like ISIL and AQ bear a Khawarij-like resemblance, so in some respects this is not new. The Khawarij were an extreme, intolerant and eventually violent sect that arose in early Islam and, after numerous attempts at negotiation and appeasement, were only stemmed by military conflict.

Secondly, there is the issue of social exclusion. Whether this is about personal experience or in connection with a narrative of victimhood, there is often a sense of alienation expressed by those who display extreme views. This lends itself to a climate that feeds radicalisation.

Hence, an individual may come from a fairly wealthy family but is connected to a shared narrative of deprivation, disadvantage and exclusion that is felt in common with other Muslims. Such a sense of victimhood may be made more acute by perceived discrimination against Muslims.

A third factor is foreign affairs. Over the last few decades, we have been able to witness world events as they unfold in a manner previously impossible. We cannot ignore the impact that foreign conflicts and policy decisions have had in radicalising Muslim opinion.

In fact, this is one of the first issues of grievance referred to by those who commit acts of terror. Furthermore, the narrative goes beyond this and extends back to the colonial era that had a tremendous impact in shaping the major Muslim movements and networks of the last century (and today). For some, it goes even further back, a single narrative of the West at war with Islam from the Crusades onwards.

Identity and citizenship-based factors also play their role. Though most Muslims have now come to terms with the notion of being British – as well as Muslim – and a number of *fatwas* have been generated regarding citizenship, voting, rule of law, civic participation, etc., those who go on to join violent movements have at some stage rejected their identity as British citizens and view themselves at war with this country. This has involved a deep-seated rejection, often connected with the points above, of the notion of the social contract that should create a common sense of citizenship with rights and responsibilities.

There are, additionally, the factors of community infrastructure, role models and leadership. For a community whose demographics are skewed to the younger age brackets, adequate positive role models

are still lacking and the middle class, which often stabilises a community, is only now beginning to grow. Experiences of anger, alienation, even discrimination, are part of the growth of new communities but anger and frustrations that are not channelled into a positive vision for social change remain as latent energy for extremist movements to mop up.

Finally, there are the recruiters. The radicalisation process usually requires active recruiters and radicalisers, whether these are face-to-face or online. There are, of course, “lone wolves” who may stumble across information and decide of their own accord to carry out an attack. Most of the cases, however, seem to have co-ordination and a connection with a network of some sort that organises and recruits and, perhaps, “grooms”, people into an extreme mind-set. Aside from this, other factors such as psychological well-being are also important.

This very complex interplay of multiple factors may help to explain the process of radicalisation more accurately than a single cause. The British government is realising that the fight is a long-term one that involves “winning hearts and minds”. Muslim communities, too, have also realised that a genuinely mature, open and reflective conversation about extremism needs to be effectively nurtured from within.

But a negative counter-narrative of what one cannot be and should not be, important as it is, can only go so far. Human beings are motivated best by positive aspirations rather than by the suppression of ideas. So, we need to develop a far more powerful (and positive) narrative of what an

integrated, harmonious and contextual approach to faith can be for Muslims growing up in Britain and the West.

Only when such a narrative can harmonise the sense of belonging to faith and nation, loyalty to religion and state and belonging to a community of believers as well as one's fellow citizens, can there be a real “integration”.

We also need a vision of what an indigenous Islam looks and feels like in Britain, just as we know what a Turkish, African or Indian Islam feels like, distinct from its Arab roots.

So whose role is it to nurture such a vision? Some see the absence of this as the failure of government policy but, in a liberal, secular society, boundaries between religion and state are important.

It may well be that government can do much to support such a venture, but it cannot be held responsible for driving it and engineering it. In fact, if it were to attempt that, we would rightly ask it to back off. This must be the role of civil society, of communities and religious bodies themselves. And the value of this pursuit lies far beyond counter-extremism. Its most important contribution is in the realm of identity and integration, of building a stronger and more cohesive society and a more relevant and contextual community of faith.

This is a battle of ideas and to win that we need to foster a spirit of freedom rather than restriction. Ideas cannot be suppressed into extinction, they need to be confronted and debated.

It is by confidently living the very values we feel are under threat (rather than constraining them for short-term gains) that we will show a positive narrative and eventually win the battle of ideas. ●

■ DILWAR HUSSAIN is Chair of New Horizons in British Islam, a charity that works for reform in Muslim thought and practice.

Depressed and lonely, the profile of a British Jihadist

By Lisa Goodyear



Reyaad Khan a young British jihadist who fled his home to fight for the Islamic State

IT IS HARD to understand why someone might choose to sacrifice a relatively peaceful life in the UK for a war zone. Even more so, how an individual can become so full of hatred that they would want to cause harm to anyone who does not abide by the same religious rules.

Research conducted recently has explored the mentality behind those leaning towards Islamist extremism and acts of terror. Greater understanding of this issue can help stop young people turning to these views.

The study interviewed over 600 Muslim men and women who were asked how much they sympathised with acts of violent protest and terrorism to measure their vulnerability to radicalising influences and found that those who had symptoms of depression were more sympathetic towards terrorist acts.

Furthermore, these people were more likely to be socially isolated. Another study, conducted in 2013, also found social isolation to be a cause of radicalisation. A group of Muslims, when interviewed, said they felt that the responsibility to integrate was often placed on Muslims alone. If all communities were encouraged to be involved in reaching out across ethnic lines then individuals would be less likely to turn to extreme forms of religious violence.

The investigation, by Kamaldeep Bhui, also found that migrants not born in the UK were less at risk of radicalisation than British-born Muslims. One reason for this is that migrants can appreciate what the UK has to offer in comparison with their home country and have actively moved to settle into a new life.

This supports reports that many regret running away to conflict zones when they

discover war is less glamorous than they thought. Migrants, on the other hand, remember the horrors of war and embrace a new lifestyle in the UK. Literature promoting fear of migrants is misguided. Our aim should be to encourage hope within our society so those feeling isolated can be welcomed back into positive ways of thinking.

It is reported that Islamic State propaganda videos have even previously claimed jihad is a "cure for depression". This suggests their social media operation may be aware of the audience it is targeting. We need to counter this message.

Kamaldeep Bhui says that, rather than criminalising radical individuals, we should bring people back from Syria and work to rehabilitate them. We should learn from them whilst trying to fulfil their potential as British citizens. Isolating and alienating a group of individuals will not solve the problem but instead will enhance it by magnifying the feelings that turned them to extremism in the first place.

Lastly, it is important to recognise that of the 600 Muslims surveyed fewer than 3% were sympathetic to terrorism. Many Muslims believe the media needs to be more responsible and accurate in how it represents them.

The voices of those who are considered extreme and misrepresenting Islam need to be limited so that the voice of the rest of the Muslim community is heard more clearly. Extreme views are a minority perspective and representing the entire Muslim community as radical alienates individuals further, allowing trends of radicalisation to continue.

How to challenge extremism without being a bigot

By Haras Rafiq

WE SEEM to be trapped in a vicious circle. On the one hand, we have individuals who seek either to deny or exploit the Islamist extremist debate for their own reasons without making any concerted effort to intellectually engage with what is happening on the ground. On the other, we have people who seek to tarnish Muslims in their entirety and Islam as a faith for the excesses of Islamist extremists and Salafist reactionaries.

Somewhere in the middle, there are those seeking to chart a more sensible course. Yet such individuals are often branded as being in one of the two above camps. This only reinforces the unhelpful nature of the current debate around Islamist extremism and prevents any kind of progress. It also hijacks real or sensible debate on the issue.

Holding high our values of freedom, democracy and justice

By Talha Ahmad

FOR THE LAST five months the barbarism of the so-called Islamic State, or rather *Daeesh* [a loose Arabic acronym for ISIS] as we should call it, has dominated the airwaves and again places British Muslim communities in sharp focus.

Once more British Muslims have had to stand up and make themselves be counted in their utter condemnation of the violence that has taken place in their name.

This condemnation has been consistent well before 9/11, but our concerted and unified denunciation of violent extremism is only now being noticed and reported. Thankfully, the knee-jerk temptation to give airtime to demagogues such as Anjem Choudhury has been avoided.

However, what has not changed is the knee-

For many on the far left, Islamist extremism is a bit of an inconvenient embarrassment. It does not really fit the predefined script and threatens to draw attention away from the perceived real enemy, namely western capitalist governments. The idea of Muslims doing things for themselves – and having the ability to formulate ideological perspectives that they proactively seek to implement – clashes with a west-centric worldview in which all events are a direct result of western action and policy. In this shortsighted worldview, history started the day European colonisation began.

Islamist extremism, looked at through this lens, becomes nothing more than a response to western foreign policy that will go away once western powers learn to mind their own business... a very convenient analysis for far leftists who want to keep up pressure on western capitalist nations and create sympathy for the notion of a socialist paradise. It also means that they render anyone deviating from their analysis part of the same western conspiracy to exploit weaker nations.

Islamist reactionaries are quick to take full advantage of this far leftist obfuscation to deflect attention away from the issues they would rather focus

on. As perennial victims, anything that undermines their victimhood is viewed as a threat whilst discussions about Islamist extremism that do not lay the blame on western conspiracies are resisted with ferocity.

The flipside to this denial and exploitation of the issue is the far right which, in Islamist extremism, seems to have found its ultimate bogeyman. Muslims and Islam have become the new “other”, the new “them” it can define itself against and look at with pity and disgust whilst reminding itself of its own “superiority”.

In the view of far rightists, extremism is an inevitable by-product of belonging to Islam and only a wholesale rejection of Islamic culture can save these poor souls. To these hard right elements, any attempt to understand Islamist extremists beyond dismissing them as “savage hordes” is appeasement.

What the far left, the far right and reactionary Islamists have in common is that they have no real or sustained interest in Islamist extremism as a phenomenon. They only view it in terms of its usefulness to pursue their own narrow ideological goals. All they are interested in is hijacking the debate for their own particular brand of “...ism”.

The majority of us, who do not buy into these camps, need to make sure that the nuances of the debate are not lost. It is not as simple as saying Islam is good/bad or that the west is good/bad. No can that rationale be applied to all Muslims or all non-Muslims. In fact, it is that very thinking that can inflame bigotry in the first place and fuel the fires of radicalisation.

The reality is that Islamism does not really care about Muslim or non-Muslim grievances; all that motivates it is the idea of creating an Islamist Caliphate, governed by that particular version of Islamism's understanding of *Sharia* law, something that can then proceed to expand across the rest of the globe. In actual fact, most Muslims do not want that. Surely, most people on the hard left do not want that either?

The points of reference clearly have to change. People who genuinely care about the threat that Islamism presents and want to find solutions that are workable within our liberal secular societies have to take control of the debate – lest we allow the bigots to win!

■ HARAS RAFIQ works for the Quilliam Foundation www.quilliamfoundation.org



Home Secretary
Theresa May
Photo: UK
Home Office

jerk imperative to tackle extremism based on populist and ill-thought out considerations. Theresa May's electric speech at the Conservative Party conference is a case in point. Whilst she advanced policy ideas which would have been unthinkable in our country just over a decade ago, what Ms May spelt out is merely a continuation of the thinking in her party (and in sections of the Labour 'right'), building on beliefs first expressed by the Prime Minister in Munich, 2011.

Now the Home Secretary has declared war on anyone the Government deems as “non-violent extremists” and if it is to become reality, we may soon live in a state where holding ideas alone may lend a person criminally liable.

Current draconian terror legislations will be topped with further powers to control, limit and if necessary, silence people who “seek to overthrow democracy”. The Foreign Secretary took it further last week by confirming that

ancient treason laws may be revised, too.

However, as someone caught in the relentless debate about shape, nature, causes and cures of terrorism, I find myself skeptical about the motives and effectiveness of what is being considered.

The ideology on which violent extremism thrives rests on a simple argument: that the West is hostile to Islam and Muslims, and that their duplicity causes the Muslim world to bleed, requiring violent response. This is, of course, nonsense. And to deny legitimacy to this argument requires building trust and confidence within the British Muslim communities, to ensure their whole hearted participation in the government's fight against terrorism.

This means not depending on a flawed counter-terrorist model that problematises the Muslim community as a whole. British Muslims have much more to offer than counter-terrorism and should not be seen only through this prism.

High-profile police raids, arrests and trials going horribly wrong have not helped either. The failures of successive governments to genuinely engage with the diversity of the Muslim communities in open and honest conversations has further complicated matters. Consequently, a sense of injustice is felt strongly within these communities, a feeling which leaves a tiny segment vulnerable to extremist ideology.

And if our political leaders are to talk the language of democracy and the rule of law as higher ideals, then they must be consistent in their approach. Supporting regimes that overthrow elected governments or regimes that brutalise populations in open prisons is hardly consistent.

As the problem of terrorism is unlikely to fade away, it is never too late to put right policies which can fight extremism with success. Of course, British Muslim communities must play their part in confronting the threat, too. And law enforcements authorities must carry out effective and focused operations to disrupt threats.

Above all, we must all master and speak the language of hope and unity over despair and division. When we are confronted with a terrorist threat, we should learn from those who have sought common solidarities between communities, rather than those who thrive on singling out and victimising minority communities.

■ TALHA AHMAD (@Talha_Jamil) is a member of the National Council of the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) and formerly Chair of its Membership Committee. He is a regular commentator in the media on issues affecting British Muslims.

The National Front: the far right's poisoned well

By Matthew Collins

TWO HISTORIES of the National Front are currently online, written by rival factions of the party that split again last year. Neither version is accurate, one assumes, partly for the authors' sectarian reasons and almost wholly due to their ignorance.

Watching the British National Party (BNP) now tearing itself apart will bring comfort but few new recruits to the rest of the far right, except probably, those clinging to the name National Front, almost all of whom, in both current warring factions, were disciples of Nick Griffin when the BNP was a more serious political threat.

After the BNP's extraordinary growth between 2002 and 2010, much of the extreme right either climbed aboard or vanished from sight but the English Defence League (EDL) emerged to mimic everything the BNP tried to

proclaim it no longer was: loud, abrasive, aggressive, drunken, stupid and racist. While there is no point denying the EDL is now scarcely more than a nazi outfit, it moved the far right onto a different trajectory.

The belief that racial violence and racial and religious war are inevitabilities is central to everything Griffin, his late predecessor, John Tyndall, and the EDL stand for. However, the EDL's external politics and protestations have, in the minds of people like Griffin, gone a long way to diluting their own message and confusing the dynamics of the fascist movement in this country.

Even taking the EDL on its initial proclamations that it was not a racist or fascist organisation, by its founder's own admission it was little more than a conduit for a radicalisation whose final destination was the

nazi movement. Indeed, the EDL spawned nazi gangs around the country that have been courted by, and even cooperated with, either the National Front(s) or the BNP's fringes.

But the far right race in Britain has always been for leadership. If that ends with a group smashing itself to pieces or destroying itself, then so be it. Nobody who knows the far right in this country has ever bothered asking why, when there are so few organised fascists active, they do not get along with each other.

Constant disunity and almost every dispute and split in the modern British far right can be traced back to the National Front (NF), one of the world's longest running hate organisations.

A merger of small anti-immigration groups and hardcore racists formed the NF in 1967. Nazis, even John Tyndall, were

initially kept out but its 47 years of veering to, from and between nazism, conservatism and right-wing radicalism is testimony to the fact that far right extremism in Britain never really went away.

British fascists are prone to imitation or self-annihilation. In the National Front, in ongoing perpetual motion, they have achieved both. So susceptible to schisms and infighting is this party that, in 1980, Tyndall wrote it off and formed what would become the British National Party (BNP), a party that he felt could survive in his image and with the abandonment of liberal and democratic principles.

The wreckage he left in his wake, after leading the NF for six years, scarred it so permanently that its traditions and image now attract only the most down at heel on the far right.

In 1997, while preparing a

Dowson's gone but Britain First lives on

By Matthew Collins

JIM DOWSON may have left Britain First (BF), but punters can still join the "patriotic political party" for £8. After Dowson abandoned the uniformed revolutionary path with the group to set up a merchandising empire flogging grubby ashtrays and plastic, patriotic flags, Paul Golding and Jayda Fransen have continued BF's tradition of shrinking, pointless confrontations and conning shoppers out of monies they assume will go to registered forces' charities.

BF still maintains a lively Facebook site but August and September were painful months with the loss of

Dowson's Belfast office and Dowson's interview with HOPE not hate gaining wide publicity. In fact, BF was not just without telephones for a while but a mountain of their merchandise still remains unsent to buyers as Golding struggles to cope. A denial of service attack also took out the BF website for a time.

Following Dowson out of the party was another former high-ranking BNP official who had swapped racism for religious struggle, Andy McBride. McBride had been BF's deputy leader and is, like Dowson, a committed Christian who views religious war as inevitable.



Replacing McBride is Kent-based Fransen, a failed former law student and recruitment consultant, who has found herself in the frontline of a number of almost suicidal excursions by

the group into parts of East London and Essex.

Gone with Dowson is also any sense of professionalism, not just in bankrolling the organisation but also underpinning much of its

Former BNP leader Nick Griffin with his new South East Alliance friends
Photo: ukaktion.wordpress.com



hostile takeover of the BNP, Griffin went behind Tyndall's back to suggest the near-moribund NF should merge with the BNP under his leadership.

This was at a time when Griffin was once more opportunistically enamoured with launching a

violent street movement with himself at its head and when Tyndall was desperately trying to disassociate himself and the BNP from the violent C18 terror gang.

If Tyndall's leadership of the NF had damaged its reputation in the minds of the voting public,

then Griffin's later destruction of the NF, seemingly only briefly, ruined his own chances as a party leader.

The NF, struggling at the time to define and reposition itself after another of its never-ending splits, refused Griffin's offer on the basis

of his past misdemeanours and the BNP's outright nazism. By 2001, however, almost all the National Front had resigned itself to joining the BNP under Griffin's leadership.

Fighting an ongoing battle for reinstatement or at least membership in the BNP that he regarded as his own, Tyndall rejected countless overtures from the NF's remnants to return and lead it. Holding a grudge against the NF to his death, Tyndall admitted, however, towards the end of his life, a deep affection for it.

No surprise, then, that nazis in the BNP who had stayed loyal to Tyndall drifted (back) into the NF, forlornly hoping he would join them and resurrect the party. It never happened but, despite his refusals, the rudderless and splintered NF has carried a torch for him ever since. ●

previous operation.

Although the group's Facebook page still manages to churn out aggravating numbers of likes and hits, BF's true meaning and politics are self-asphyxiated by cross posting and endless links to its rather jumbled merchandising operation. Its website is devoid of any real input other than selected articles on immigration and crime pinned up from the *Daily Mail* and *Daily Express*. Despite being the former editor of a BNP publication, it is clear that Golding struggles with the written word.

During September and October, the group staged protests in Rotherham (twice) and in Hexthorpe around the issues of child grooming and Roma immigrants. Golding was also arrested and bailed on charges of harassment.

Britain First was one of

several small far right groups to gain publicity from a number of media reports in September about the "rise" of the far right in Britain. Ostensibly, these reports were the work of individuals who went looking for racism and extremism on line and found it and then unequivocally attributed all racism in Britain to the far right.

In a subsequent interview with the BBC, Golding went unchallenged when making the preposterous claim that his group actually had 6,000 members. HOPE not hate maintains that the party's actual membership is still below 2,000 and likely to shrink while the group is still administered and led by the likes of Golding and his family. Golding's younger brother, a notorious criminal with convictions for violence, is believed to be running the

group's merchandise from their mother's living room.

Fransen put herself forward for the Strood and Rochester parliamentary by election set for 20 November, drawing huge criticism from those on the far right, who although anti-UKIP, want the latter to defeat the Tories. BF has been active in the area campaigning against what it describes as a "mega mosque" and drinking in a pub owned by a supporter in nearby Chatham.

Although the party is likely to fare very, very poorly, it has not stopped Golding's demands for an expensive campaign. He learnt well from his erstwhile master, Nick Griffin. ●



Jayda Fransen

Nazi gig invaded by foreigners

by Nick Lowles

THE BRITISH Blood&Honour scene continues to decline, more than twice as many Europeans as Britons attending the latest Ian Stuart Memorial gig. The two-day event, held on a farm just outside Langley Mill, in the East Midlands in September, is the largest nazi white power music event of the year in the UK and marks the anniversary of the death of the movement's founder, Ian Stuart Donaldson, in a car crash in September 1993.

The whole event was a shambles, with many people who would normally attend deciding to stay at home in anger at being told the redirection point only on the morning of the event. Up to that point, people were not even told in which part of the country the gig was being held.

Things only got worse when Brutal Attack, billed as headlining the event, failed to show. Among those performing were the US band Hate Machine, the Canadian singer Griffin, who is now living in Germany, and British bands Legion of Saint George, Redneck 28, Blackout, PWA and Whitelaw.

The 450-500 who attended were only half the number at last year's event though this was an especially big occasion, marking the 20th anniversary of Donaldson's death.

The mood of those present was not helped by the poor facilities on site. As per last year, Ginger Rob cornered the drinks market. There was also a distinct lack of Blood&Honour merchandise on sale, with most of the white power T-shirts being sold from stalls manned by eastern European skinheads. Steve Jones, of Tattooed Mother Fuckers and formerly lead singer of English Rose, might not be too pleased to hear that knock-off TMF T-shirts were being sold. The only political stall was one run by the British Movement.

While the assembled crowd observed a dutiful minute's silence for their deceased leader, they might well have reflected on the slump of the movement he built up. Two forthcoming Blood& Honour gigs are the Halloween gig in the North West and then the White Xmas gig. Neither is expected to be very big.



FPÖ on strange journeys

From Martin Jordan in Vienna

AUSTRIA'S FAR RIGHT Freedom Party (FPÖ) likes strange alliances not just in its continuous efforts to network with Europe's far right, but also its activities in faraway places like Russia, Crimea, Chechnya, Libya or Iraq.

The party's latest guest performance took place in Moscow recently when Johann Gudenus, FPÖ vice-chairman and spokesman on security, gave a speech at the international forum "Large Families and the Future of Humanity" hosted in the State Kremlin Palace and the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour 10-12 September 2014.

The event gathered ultra-conservative and far right representatives from more than 40 countries to discuss the "moral decay of society" that is leading up to "the crisis of the family" and counter-measures that ensure "the preservation of traditional, multi-child families as the moral and spiritual cornerstone of society, the bearer of national identity, and the keeper of civilization".

Gudenus, a fairly good Russian speaker, unsurprisingly criticised the EU and NATO as mouthpieces for US policy and stressed that he, the FPÖ and many likeminded Austrians are Russia's friends. The core of his speech, though, consisted of scaremongering against what he called a "homosexual lobby" that is undermining Western society and the reason for widespread moral decay.

Gudenus' speech created quite a stir in Austria and, on his return, he was asked to explain himself; particularly about what he meant by "homosexual lobby". His answer was short, but quite telling: "I can not tell you exactly. But in the western media it is particularly powerful." Of course, FPÖ leader, Heinz-Christian Strache, then jumped in to support Gudenus and added he would want Russia to be a member state in a "reformed EU".

Before the gathering, Russian MP Jelena Mizulina told state media that this was a truly historic event. Mizulina is one of a number of ultra-conservative, highly influential ideologists in the Russian parliament and is co-author of the controversial law that criminalises "propaganda of non-traditional sexual relations" to an underage audience which, in practice, translates into the absurd suggestion that the phrase "gays are people too" is considered potentially extremist.



Gadafi with Haider

Apart from prominent Duma deputies, conservative activists and leading representatives of the clergy, including the Russian Orthodox Patriarch Kirill, there were European Union politicians there delivering speeches somewhere the spectrum between paranoia, hateful chauvinism and blatant bigotry. These politicians included the Hungarian Deputy Minister of State for International and EU Affairs, Gergely Pröhle, and the French MEP Aymeric Chauprade from the far right National Front.

On his Russian junket, FPÖ foreign affairs supremo, Johannes Hübner, accompanied Gudenus. The two are a well-established team. Only recently they went as election monitors to the referendum in Crimea and declared the voting process "super democratic and super clean", adding that "just because we are used to different rules, that does not mean that democracy therefore falls by the wayside".

Gudenus and Hübner were there, along with several other far right politicians from across Europe, at the invitation of the Eurasian Observatory for Democracy and Elections (EODE) to observe the referendum legitimising Russia's takeover of the Ukrainian peninsula.

The unifying element between the right-wing election observers and EODE is the political concept of Neo-Eurasianism, which originated from a minor political current in Russia that was transformed and popularised by leading National Bolshevik ideologues like Alexandr Dugin. It relies on the notion of merging Europe, Russia and parts of Asia to form a Eurasian empire that would be the counterweight to the United States, which EODE refers to as "American-Zionist imperialism".

The leader of the EODE is the Belgian nazi activist Luc Michel, who is carrying on the ideas of National Bolshevism from his deceased mentor, the Belgian

collaborationist and Nazi, Jean-Francois Thiriart, who closely worked with Dugin.

Reaching out to Russia is nothing new for the FPÖ. Besides meetings between FPÖ officials, delegates of Putin's United Russia party and Russian oligarchs in Vienna and Moscow, another remarkable meeting took place almost three years ago.

In February 2012, Gudenus and Hübner paid a visit to the pro-Kremlin dictatorial leader of Chechnya, Ramsan Kadyrov, to discuss the coordination of efforts for a "return of Chechen refugees to their homeland".

After their visit, Gudenus expressed satisfaction that "everything is going just fine" in Chechnya and said there "are no signs of war or discrimination". He added that although Kadyrov admitted to persecuting political opponents, he stressed that no more than 20,000 Chechens were affected.

Coincidentally, 20,000 is the approximate number of Chechen refugees living in Austria and, according to the FPÖ, the testimony of Kadyrov confirmed a long held suspicion that the majority of them are actually asylum fraudsters chasing economic benefits.

The FPÖ has a long tradition of bizarre contacts and it is not always obvious what the intentions behind them. Political calculation and media strategies are certainly important stage-setters precluding such stunts but there may, as well, be some abstruse political agenda behind the FPÖ's meanderings.

Money can always be a tempting driver, too. During the era of the late Jörg Haider, FPÖ officials (as well as Haider himself) made trips to Saddam Hussein and Muammar Gaddafi that, according to former confidants of Haider, were compensated with millions of Euros. The FPÖ clearly knows where the cashbox is and will befriend anyone to get its hands on it. ●

Ferguson – Police b

Eric O'Neill reports from Washington DC

On 9 August, Michael Brown, an African-American teenager, was killed by a white police officer in Ferguson, Missouri. Brown, unarmed, was shot six times, twice in the head, in circumstances that remain hotly disputed.

What followed his death was an all too familiar chain of events, including police brutality, government mismanagement and the terrorising of a community mourning the lad's loss. White nationalists quickly latched onto the tense situation in Ferguson to continue their fairy tales about race relations and multiculturalism in the USA.

On 10 August, hundreds of protesters took to the streets in Ferguson, gathering for a candlelight vigil in Michael's memory. The police response was violent, deploying men in riot gear who used tear gas and rubber bullets against the protesters.

The actions of the police and their leadership that night and in the days ahead resulted in the criminalisation of the entire community to which Michael had belonged. Four days after the shooting, the name of the police officer that shot Michael was still being withheld despite promises from Ferguson police. By 13 August, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had issued a statement backing his family, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) had opened an investigation into the killing.

As the days went on, more reporters and protesters were arrested amid nightly protests by police not wearing nametags while white nationalists mocked the protests. In a blog for the white nationalist journal *Radix*, Michael McGregor, argued, "These types of stories take a few anecdotes of Blacks saying they got an unfair hand from the police, completely ignores (*sic*) crime statistics that show these young men are far more likely to do no good...."

Jared Taylor echoed this message

on his American Renaissance website: "Whites will never understand anything until they realize that blacks are different, that they bring their misery upon themselves, and that blaming whites and making excuses only makes blacks angrier and more reckless."

Critical comments on the case by President Obama prompted Jay Nixon, the Governor of Missouri, to pull the St. Louis County Police out of Ferguson and replace them with the Missouri Highway Patrol. This change brought relative calm, but it was short-lived.

On Friday, 15 August, the police released the name of the police officer that killed Michael, a white man by the name of Darren Wilson. In a calculated move, the police also released a video purporting to show Michael stealing cigars from a local shop minutes before he was shot and killed. The dual release caused further outrage and sparked another night of police brutality and intimidation.

White nationalists used the video to attack the mainstream media for its portrayal of Brown as an "innocent teen" following the shooting. White nationalists James Edwards of the radio show *Political Cesspool* and Richard Spencer, head of the racist think tank National Policy Institute (NPI), called the case a media-manufactured "racial myth" and likened the story to the killing of African-American teenager Trayvon Martin in 2012. Others branded the tragedy another "hate crime hoax" designed to demonise whites.

Three days later, Nixon announced he was dispatching the National Guard. "I'll be watching," responded President Obama, when he told reporters his Attorney General, Eric Holder, would visit Ferguson two days later.

On the first night of the National Guard's deployment, two protesters were shot and 31 arrested. Again, journalists were pre-emptively arrested to halt coverage of the night's injustices while English white nationalist Peter Brimelow argued that protesters should be met

with "ruthless coercion."

Other far right groups also climbed aboard to inject their toxic messages into mainstream debates. The New Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, for example, announced that its members would be travelling to areas around Ferguson to "protect" white businesses.

The same group was raising money for Wilson, even before his name was released. Brad Griffin, founder of the white nationalist website *Occidental Dissent*, encouraged his readership to attend "Support Darren Wilson" rallies nearby St. Louis, calling them a good recruitment opportunity.

When Holder arrived on 20 August, the *Washington Post* reported that a total of 155 people had been arrested in Ferguson since Brown's death. The paper also indicated that at least a dozen journalists were detained during that span but not recorded in the official total. The National Guard withdrew the day after Eric Holder arrived and Michael Brown's funeral took place on 25 August, full sixteen days after his death.

Those still protesting are calling for an open and thorough investigation into Wilson's lethal deed. At the moment, both the FBI and St. Louis County Police are investigating Brown's death for violations of federal and state law, respectively. A grand jury in St. Louis County has been hearing evidence since August 20. Ultimately, the grand jury will decide whether there is enough evidence to bring criminal charges against Wilson. A decision is expected in November. The police's actions in the aftermath of the shootings are also being investigated, a federal judge ruling on 7 October that the Ferguson police's tactics violated protesters' rights.

As the protests have inevitably slowed and the investigations dragged on, white nationalist leaders began to reflect further on the events. Many made a renewed call for whites to abandon the society they live in today and begin to develop all-white communities within the United States.

brutality, racist myth

Vigil at the site of Mike Brown's murder on Sat Oct 12 and protest at the protest at the Ferguson Police Station Photo: sarah-ji
(below) Police on guard at the Times Square, New York protest Photo: Jason Allen



Matt Parrott of the racist group inspired by Identitarianism, the Traditionalist Youth Network (TYN) argued, "The future belongs to those with the foresight and will to leave America without *actually* leaving it...." Jeff Frankas of the racist publishing house Counter-Currents, for his part, told whites, "Get out. Get out of America, and finding something new. Something that belongs to you."

The US's institutional racism guarantees that there will be many events like Ferguson in the future. Challenging the white nationalist mythology that seeps out in the aftermath of these events will be vital. ●



Catalan independence: the obsession of the Spanish extreme right



The majority in Catalonia's autonomous parliament is actively seeking ways to conduct an independence vote. Spain, meanwhile, is determined prevent any such test of the popular will and the pro-Spanish extreme right is even threatening to use violence to prevent the regions' secession. *Sandra Cortés* in Barcelona for *Antifeixistes.org* looks at the mounting turmoil

IN RECENT YEARS, Spain has been living through a deepening identity crisis that has put question marks over its territorial unity and the model of Statehood that emerged from the imposition of the Bourbon dynasty (the current Spanish monarchy) in the eighteenth century.

This decades-long process involved intimidating the Iberian territories that had their own language and own culture (the Catalan lands, the Basque country and Galicia) into becoming a very reluctant part of a national concept based on the Spanish language and culture.

The project being an artificial construct, Spanish nationalism never able fully to integrate this collection of nations and cultures into a single voluntary project but instead chose repression and subjugation.

This process was "completed" after the civil war of 1936-39 when the armed forces, led by Francisco Franco and supported by Hitler and Mussolini, violently installed an ultra-Catholic and nationalist regime whose aim to homogenise the State culturally into a single "Spanish" entity.

The brutality of the fascist, Spanish nationalist enterprise was

shown when Lluís Companys, leader of the Catalan Republican Left (ERC) during the civil war, was arrested by the Nazi Gestapo in France, and handed to Franco's fascist government which then executed him in Barcelona in 1940, a vile deed that was never forgotten or forgiven.

During the Franco dictatorship (1939-1975), Catalan and Basque separatism was inextricably linked to the fight against fascism because "the sacred unity of Spain" was a vital ideological pillar of the dictatorship.

After the death of Franco, the transition to democracy brought

a new and more liberal political scenario, based on the territorial division of Spain into autonomous communities with their own legislatures.

These moves enraged a far right that was always belligerent towards such autonomy, let alone separatism. As a result, in the 1970s and 1980s, armed groups appeared – many of them created by the State apparatus and the police that had remained the same as under Franco – attacking separatists in Catalonia, the Basque Country and Valencia. Among these groups were terrorists like the Spanish Basque

Alianza Nacional
demonstrations in Barcelona
Photos: Jordi Borràs.



a massive pro-independence demonstration in Barcelona ignored by the Spanish government, led by the right-wing conservative Popular Party (PP), which refuses to negotiate with Catalonia.

The Spanish Socialists (PSOE) are also opposed to a referendum on independence but this has unleashed internal divisions with some of their Catalan branches leaving the party.

The Spanish left (United Left and a wide range of social movements), which is not "Spanish unionist", however, fully supports an independence referendum in Catalonia, while the Spanish far right has even threatened to use arms to prevent any such move.

This was confirmed on 12 October, Spain's National Day, by the leaders of the fascist parties, Pedro Pablo Peña (National Alliance), Manuel Canduela (National Democracy), and Manuel Andrino (La Falange). At an event in Barcelona which brought together about 400 nazis from across Spain, the three leaders said they were willing to shoot the Catalan "traitors" and launch an armed struggle against separatism.

Simultaneously, the mainstream Spanish right, mobilised by the PP and other nationalist parties (VOX, Ciutadans (Cs) and Unió Progreso y Democracia (UpyD) gathered 16,000 people in the centre of Barcelona for a rally against secession, enthusiastically joined by fascist parties like the Plataforma per Catalunya (PxC)

and Social Republican Movement (MSR), a member of the European fascist coalition, the Alliance of European National Movements.

With tensions steadily mounting, the Catalan parliament slapped Spanish premier Mariano Rajoy in the face by outlawing homophobia and imposing tough criminal penalties for hate speech and hate crime against lesbians and gay men. Then, on 14 October, Catalan President Artur Mas, of the conservative Convergence and Union (CiU) alliance confirmed that the Catalan government would try to circumvent legal obstacles to the Spanish courts, calling for a plebiscite on the independence elections, a move to which the other parties – all of them leftists: ICV, CUP and ERC (Initiative for Catalonia-Greens, Popular Unity Candidates, Republican Left of Catalonia) – that supported the initial proposal for consultation have to agree.

Two questions will be asked: "Do you want Catalonia to be a state? If so, do you want Catalonia to be an independent state?" The day allocated day for the "consultation, 9 November, could be a violent one.

Madrid could order the police to remove the ballot boxes – 800 Civil Guards are being mobilised for that purpose – while the Spanish extreme right has announced it "will smash the polls."

We shall see. Violent action by the state or its fascist allies will take negotiations right off the table and put Catalonia and Spain firmly on collision course. ●

Battalion (BVE) and or the Anti-Terrorist Liberation Group (GAL), an alleged Spanish offshoot of NATO's secret *Gladio* network that focused on combating left-wing separatism in particular.

Their violence was a gross flop, producing many corpses but nothing else and failing signally to stem the instincts and feelings or dampen the aspirations of Spain's non-Spanish peoples.

In recent years, in fact, pro-independence sentiments, backed up by a strong economic case, have grown exponentially in Catalonia. A wealthy region of 7.5 million people, Catalonia

contributes more to the Spanish economy than it gets back from central government. Madrid, however, is intent on frustrating the Catalans. When, earlier this year, the Catalan parliament announced it would hold a referendum on independence on 9 November, the Spanish government declared it illegal and was backed by the Constitutional Court. In defiance, the Catalan government proposed a ballot as a "public consultation" on independence.

On 11 September – Catalan National Day – over two million people took to the streets in

■ In the Catalanian consultation on 9 November, 2,305,000 people voted overwhelmingly – 80.7% – and peacefully for independence from the Spanish State. This powerful vote now paves the way for a binding referendum on the region's future.

National Action: new attempt at

By Matthew Collins
and Joe Mulhall

NATIONAL ACTION (NA) is the product of the political and ideological demise of the British National Party (BNP).

Following the birth of the Islamophobic street movement, the English Defence League (EDL), the BNP's former leader, Nick Griffin, privately lamented that his party was suffering a decline of militancy and of young leadership.

The BNP's youth wing (Young British National Party), which had changed its name numerous times over the years, provided Griffin with some impetus for remodelling the party's "cadre" and he openly encouraged its members to attempt to seize control of BNP branches and bodies that were growing either stagnant or irrelevant as the party started to vanish from the political landscape.

The BNP's abysmal failure to capitalise on the brutal murder, in May last year, of soldier Lee Rigby, and Griffin's demoralising attempts to make amends with the erstwhile "Zionist conspirators" of the EDL during that summer were a watershed.

Some of the disaffected – frustrated with what appeared to be a blatant attempt by the new BNP leadership to wind down confrontational activities – reacted by branching out in a seemingly autonomous movement that paints itself as some kind of "Identitarian", ultra-nationalist street gang, copying similar movements in Europe.

NA is heavily aligned with a plethora of groups, including both the North West Infidels and the South East Alliance, that are clinging to Griffin's coat-tails.



IN THE SIX MONTHS SINCE OUR FIRST P
DEMONSTRATION NATIONAL ACTION HAS
TURNING A WEB BASED IDEA INTO AN A
WORLD ORGANISATION. THIS IS HOW W

POLITICS AND IDEOLOGY

POLITICALLY, NA advocates self-styled "revolutionary nationalism", heavily influenced by its forerunners in a similar group named "Resistance" that grew out of the YBNP under its leader, Kieran Trent, in 2012 but never got off the ground.

The group has produced several readable if confused documents on its ideas and ideology and has made large-scale use of professional social media and web forums.

Early press coverage of NA overestimated both its size and academic provenance, even though it had a habit of acting provocatively around university campuses where it had members, including one of its founders, Alex Davies,

who was busy failing a philosophy degree at Warwick University around the time the group first came to prominence.

Publicity hungry, NA has geared up its activities in the last six months by causing confrontations on demonstrations or by targeting individuals and premises. In November 2014, a series of homes belonging to NA activists in Liverpool were raided by police and one member, Garron Helm, was later jailed for threatening Jewish MP, Luciana Berger.

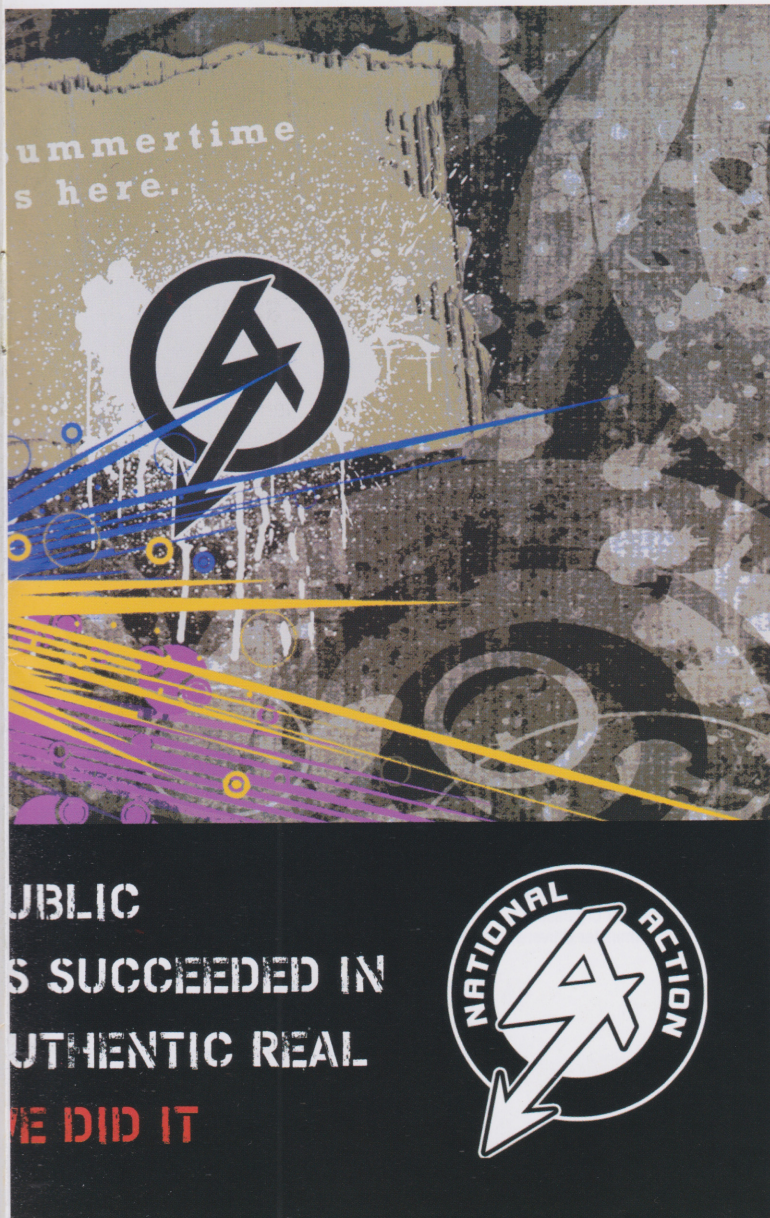
Other fascist outfits in Europe, Russia and the USA influence the group and its publicity-seeking provocations. Davies, for example, told the *Daily Mirror* earlier

this year: "I don't want to say what I'd like to do to Jews – it's too extreme."

Lurking in the background is Larry Nunn, a former BNP organiser from the Northampton area. Nunn is better known in the far right as "Max Musson" and is the main figure behind a website, Western Spring, that energetically promotes vile far right extremism.

In August, people aligned to a number of groups in and around National Action and Western Spring staged a training and survival camp called the Sigurd Outlaw Camp where they trained in martial arts and undertook weapons practice with knives.

at a street army



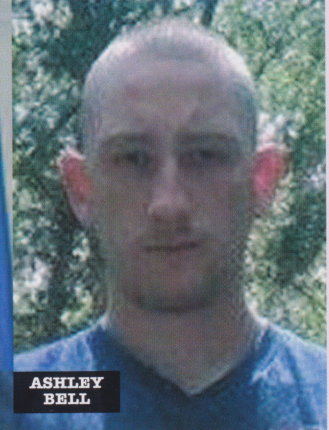
KEY FACTS

- **Formed:** 2013
- **Leaders:** Alex Davies, Ashley Bell, Mark James and Benjamin Raymond
- **Members/Activists:** 30+
- **Areas of Activity:** London, Birmingham, Leeds, Coventry and Liverpool
- **Ideology:** Nazism, visceral racism, antisemitism, anti-Communism and white supremacy

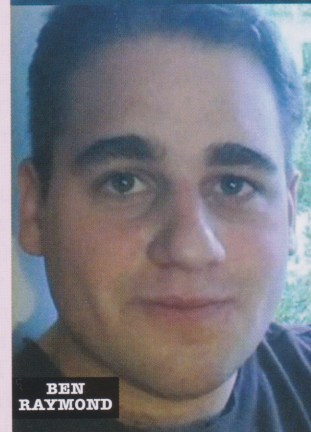
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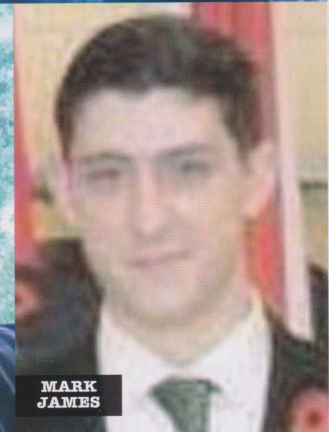
ALEX DAVIES



ASHLEY BELL



BEN RAYMOND



MARK JAMES

Alex Davies: Recently removed from Warwick University, Davies has become a public figure for the group mainly as result of a sting operation carried out against him by the *Daily Mirror*.

Ashley Bell: more commonly known as Tommy Johnson, appears to have made his way into the far right via the "Straight Edge Movement" which refuses to take drugs, tobacco or alcohol whilst listening to punk music.

Around the same time, he is rumoured to have tried his hand as a Hunt Saboteur in Yorkshire. Based in Leeds, in the last few years he has fallen in with both the British Movement and the National Front (NF), though he is currently *persona non grata* with the NF after accusations were made against him of theft from the movement.

He has been referred to as the leader of National Action and is thought to be one of those behind its founding document.

Benjamin Raymond: aka Benjamin Noyles is one of the main activists in National Action. He previous far right activity was the Integralist Party which also called itself the Green Shirts. Has also spent time in the comical New British Union.

Returned to the UK in January of this year after living in the United States. A huge fan of the American Renaissance Party of North America, Raymond/Noyles is the moderator of some of the more obscure nazi internet forums too.

HOPE not hate in the

By Elisabeth Pop and Owen Jones

HOPE NOT HATE is embarking on an exciting programme of community organising to bring divided communities together, build community resilience to extremism and work together with people to produce positive and productive solutions to the many problems they face.

Building on the proven success of HOPE not hate's localised campaigning and its efforts to bring communities together in the face of English Defence League marches and activities, we have now created the TOGETHER project to take this a stage further.

To move the campaign forward, we have employed five new organisers to work in local communities around the country.

London

London is a very multicultural and diverse area but it also hosts some of the poorest neighbourhoods in the country. While many agree that London is One World in One City and that diverse groups generally live in harmony, there is very little engagement between all those who call it home. People tend to gather only in their own faith or ethnic community groups, and many feel isolated or abandoned – community pride and cohesion is sometimes in short supply.

Even in some of London's most diverse boroughs, where minority communities make up the majority, there is little mutual solidarity or understanding of each other's plight.

The TOGETHER campaign is targeting Brent and Harrow with the aim of building such solidarity and, in the process, bring communities together. Our local organiser, who recently held a well-attended community meeting in Brent, is organising a Voter Registration campaign with people of Portuguese and Brazilian

heritage and is working with local organisations to ensure there are more facilities for young people.

In Harrow, our campaign has focused on engaging students, with 65 signing up to the campaign during an action day at the local campus of Westminster University.

Essex

Thurrock has a long history of British National Party, National Front and now UKIP activity support, so this is one of the most challenging areas in which to work. There is a significant and growing Black African community here and a white working class community that feels angry and abandoned.

Building on our community canvass in late August, which saw 350 people sign our TOGETHER pledge, we encouraged voter turnout in a recent council by-election, supported a Hindu *Diwali* celebration and have started working with Hindu, Nepalese and Black African communities in the borough.

In late December, we will hold a Christmas party, organisationally supported by the Salvation Army, with the aim of bringing new and settled communities together in a peaceful and positive environment. The event will begin with a carol service and involve a local gospel choir and a Hindu children's dance group.

In nearby Basildon, we are working with the GMB trade union's campaign against zero hours contracts and low pay. By taking part,



HOPE not hate organiser Manreet Chhokar organising at Westminster University

we can engage with local people and win their support for our wider anti-racist message.

The Black Country

Netherton is a textbook Black Country town. The birthplace of the *Titanic*'s great anchor, the town feels peaceful, content and quiet. However, much of the traditional industry has gone and, with no central focus such as a town centre, there has been little history of voluntary and statutory community development.

In a town where many have lost hope, its Lodge Farm estate is an isolated area away from the main settlement. An enclosed, circular design, the estate's only entrances are away from other built-up areas or by pedestrian access through a dark, steep, wooded path. Lodge Farm has no established youth or community facilities and is seen by many as



HOPE not hate activists out in Thurrock

community



Hampshire

In July, the TV production company that shot to fame and notoriety with their hugely controversial programme, "Benefits Street", confirmed a follow-up show, "Immigration Street", to be filmed in the Derby Road area of Southampton. Understandably, the Derby Road community, along with wider parts of the city, has reacted with anger.

In response, our TOGETHER organiser is working with the local Tenants' Association to develop a positive alternative to what will probably be a negative portrayal of the area in the programme.

Shortly before Christmas, we are organising HOPE Street, a one-day festival to give local people the opportunity to celebrate their community. We envisage that this event will help foster dialogue between local people and provide a platform to express their concerns for the future.

A similar project is taking shape in Portsmouth, with a community meeting taking place as we go to press.

Cardiff

Much of our work has been developing a base amongst the city's 42,000 students – 20% of the population – with a view to involving them actively in anti-racism and encouraging them to work in the wider local community.

We have already held a successful action day which saw over 70 students sign up to get involved and plan a further Day of Action soon.

Community work is slow, difficult, intensive and time-consuming. But, it is also vital if we are really going to unite divided communities and build a resistance to hatred.

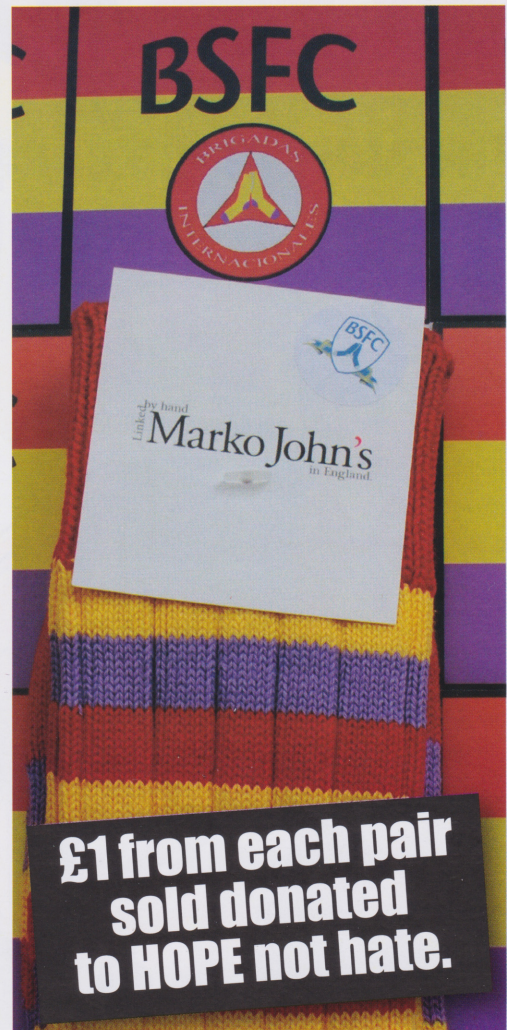
a source of anti-social behaviour. No wonder, the community feels and remains isolated, and young people face issues of poor self-esteem and low aspirations.

In response, HOPE not hate is working with Black Country in Motion to start a football club on Lodge Farm, with the aim of igniting action that engages with young people and builds hope in the local community. As with any good local team, its success will be dependent on the community taking up the project and running it for itself.

In parallel, local HOPE not hate activists are putting together a newsletter for the estate, with positive stories to help develop solidarity amongst local people. We will also run a community survey from which we will develop a manifesto of demands to the Regeneration Board and the council, both of which have ignored the area's interests.

We now have four projects running across Dudley, including one in Castle and Priory, where we have been working for two years and have witnessed a massive change in local opinion.

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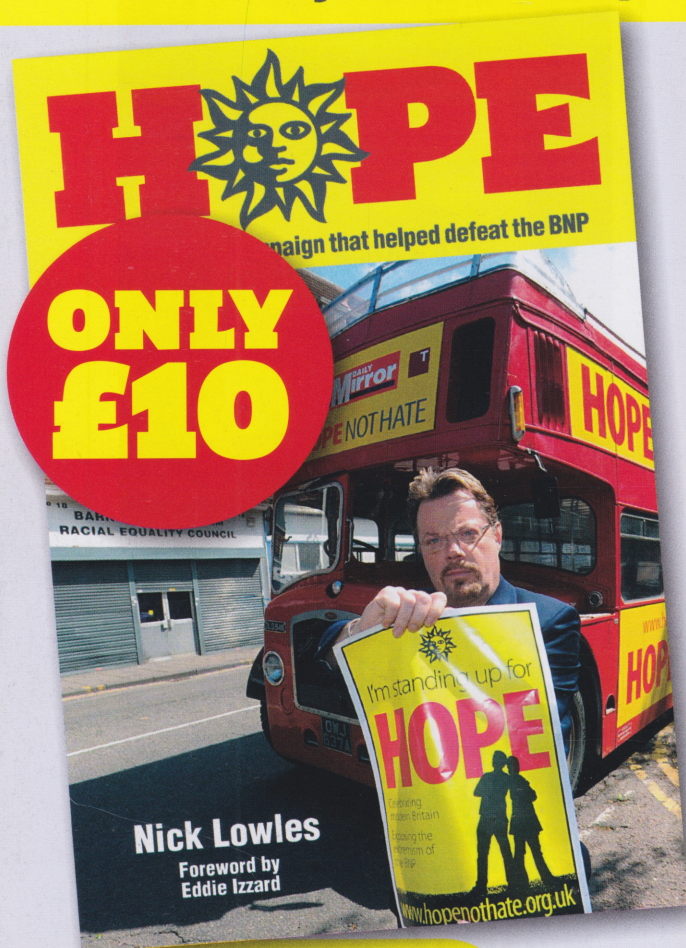
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HOPE

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